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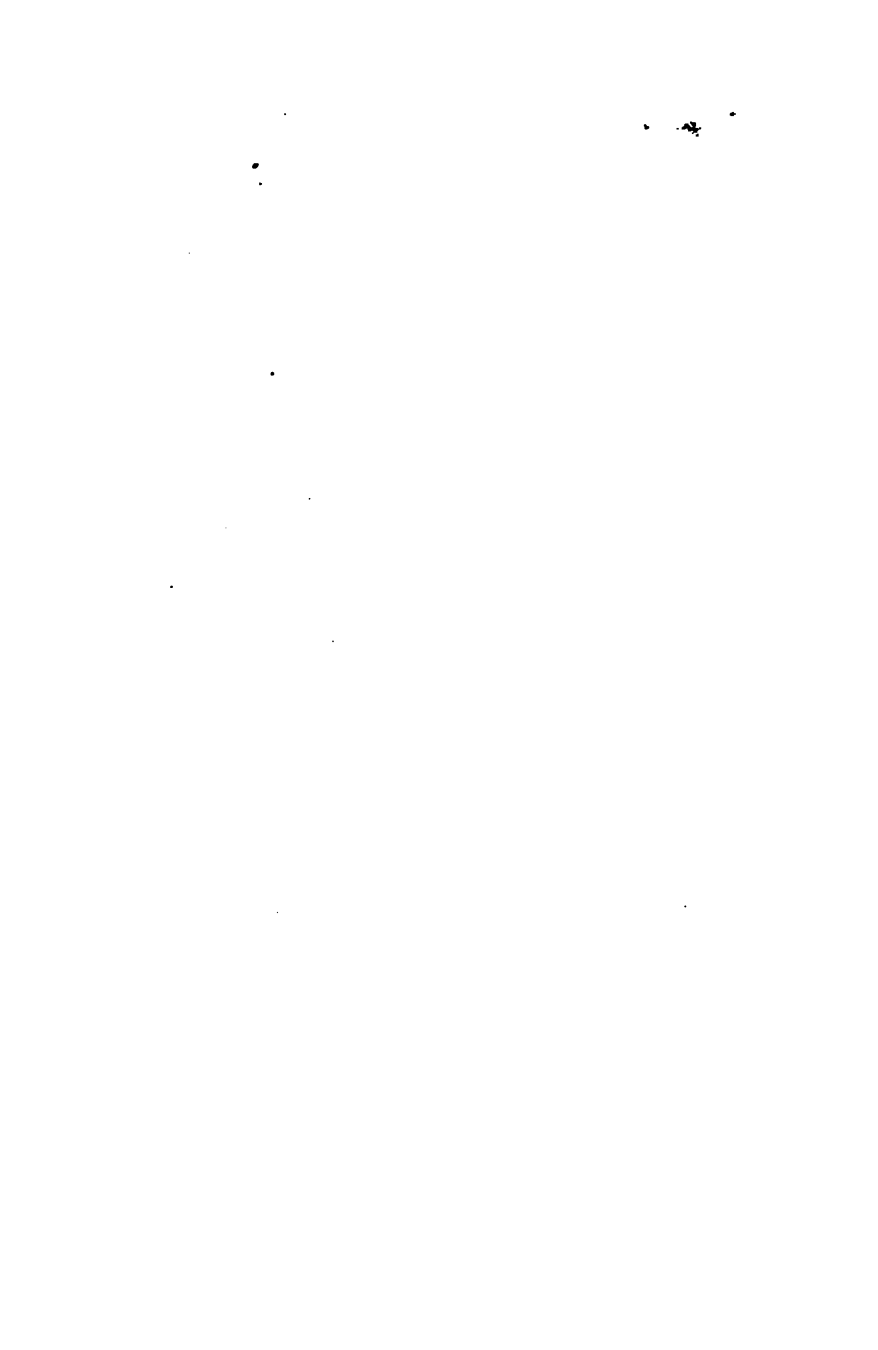
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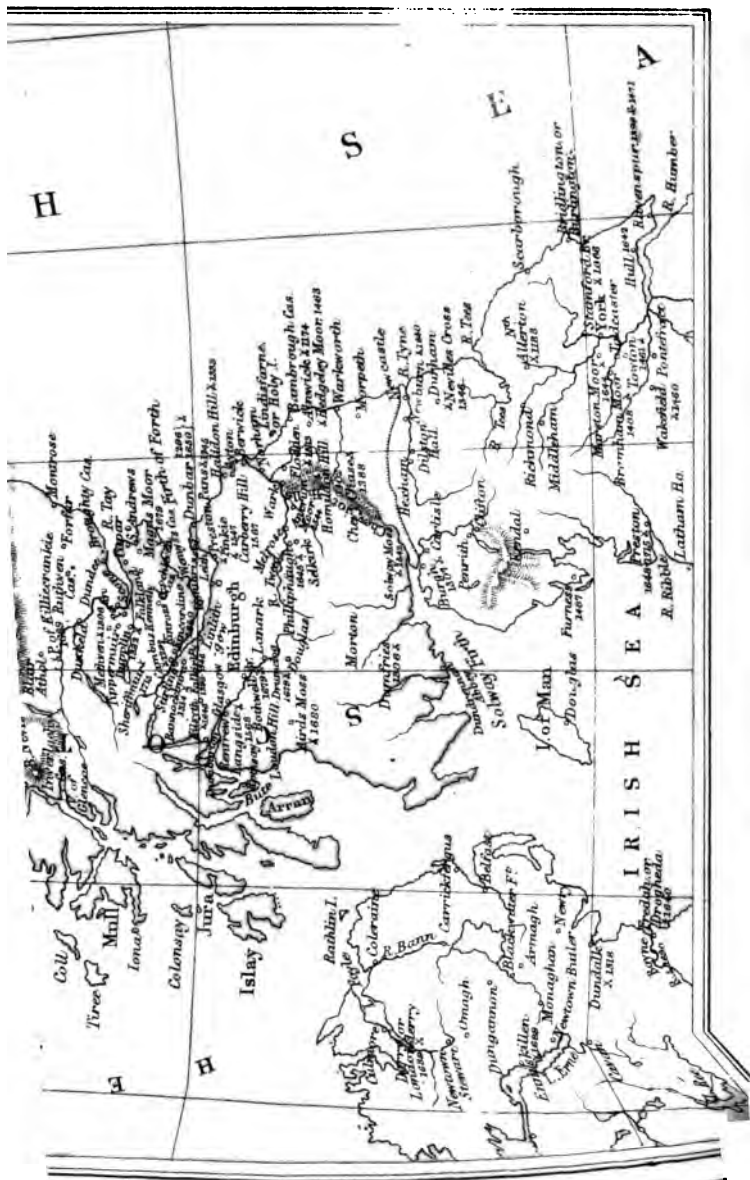
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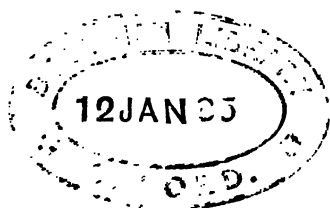
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Duncan I, killed by Macbeth.

(2) Malcolm Canmore, m. Margaret (3) Donald Bane,
of England. Detroned by Duncan II, but afterwards regains the crown.

(4) Duncan II. (5) Edgar. (6) Alexander I. (7) David I.
(illegitimate.)

Henry, Crown Prince of Scotland.

(8) Malcolm IV. (9) William the Lion.

David, Earl of Huntingdon.

(10) Alexander II.

(11) Alexander III.

Margaret, m. Alan, Lord of Galloway.
Devorgille, m. John Balliol.

Isabella, m. Robert Bruce.

Margaret, m. Eric, King of Norway.

(12) Margaret, Maiden
of Norway.

(13) John Balliol
(Claimant).

Margory, m. John
Comyn (Black).

Robert Bruce
(Claimant).

Edward Balliol. John Comyn (Red).

Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick.

(14) Robert Bruce, the Bruce
of Bannockburn.

Margory, m. Walter, the Steward of Scotland.

(15) David II.

(Edward Balliol usurps)
(when David is King.)

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE
OF THE
KINGS OF SCOTLAND,
FROM
ROBERT THE BRUCE TO THE UNION,
WITH THE CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS OF ENGLAND.

SCOTLAND.		ENGLAND.	
LINE OF BRUCE.		LINE OF PLANTAGENET.	
	Reigned		Reigned
Robert I.,	from 1306 to 1329	Edward II.,	from 1307 to 1327
David II.,	„ 1329 „ 1371	Edward III.,	„ 1327 „ 1377
LINE OF STUART.			
Robert II.,	from 1371 to 1390	Richard II.,	„ 1377 „ 1399
		HOUSE OF LANCASTER.	
Robert III.,	„ 1390 „ 1406	Henry IV.,	from 1399 to 1413
James I.,	„ 1406 „ 1437	Henry V.,	„ 1413 „ 1422
James II.,	„ 1437 „ 1460	Henry IV.,	„ 1422 „ 1461
		HOUSE OF YORK.	
James III.,	„ 1460 „ 1488	Edward IV.,	from 1461 to 1483
		Edward V.,	„ 1483 „ 1483
		Richard III.,	„ 1483 „ 1485
		TUDOR DYNASTY.	
James IV.,	from 1488 to 1513	Henry VII.,	from 1485 to 1509
James V.,	„ 1513 „ 1542	Henry VIII.,	„ 1509 „ 1547
Mary	„ 1542 „ 1567	Edward VI.,	„ 1547 „ 1553
		Mary,	„ 1553 „ 1558
James VI.,	„ 1567 „ 1603	Elizabeth	„ 1558 „ 1603

SOVEREIGNS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.
HOUSE OF STUART.

	Reigned
James I.,	from 1603 to 1625
Charles I.,	„ 1625 „ 1649
<i>The Commonwealth,</i>	„ 1649 „ 1660
Charles II.,	„ 1660 „ 1685
James II.,	„ 1685 „ 1688
William and Mary,	„ 1689 „ 1694
William (alone),	„ 1694 „ 1702
Anne,	„ 1702 „ 1714

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,

CHAPTER I.

ROBERT THE BRUCE.—1305-1310.

AFTER the death of Sir William Wallace, it was natural that such of the people of Scotland as were still determined to fight for the deliverance of their country from the English yoke, should look around for some other leader, under whom they might unite to combat the power of England. The feeling was universal in Scotland, that they would no longer endure the English government; and therefore such great Scottish nobles as believed they had a right to the crown, began to think of standing forward to claim it.

Amongst these were two powerful noblemen. The first was Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick; the other was John Comyn of Badenoch, usually called the Red Comyn. These two great and powerful barons had taken part with Sir William Wallace in the wars against England; but, after the defeat of Falkirk, they submitted themselves to Edward.

Bruce was a remarkably brave and strong man. He was very wise and prudent, and an excellent general. He was generous, too, and courteous by nature; but he had his faults, which perhaps belonged as much to the fierce period in which he lived as to his own character.

Bruce had determined to attempt once again to drive the English out of Scotland, and he endeavoured to prevail upon Sir John the Red Comyn, who was his rival in his pretensions to the throne, to join with him in expelling

the enemy by their united efforts. Learning that Edward, at whose court he resided, had become acquainted with his designs, he posted down from London to Dumfries, and requested an interview with John Comyn. They met in one of the churches in that town. What passed betwixt them is not known with certainty; but they quarrelled, either concerning their mutual pretensions to the crown, or because Bruce charged Comyn with having betrayed to the English his purpose of rising up against King Edward. It is, however, certain, that these two haughty barons came to high and abusive words. Bruce, who was extremely passionate, forgot the sacred character of the place in which they stood, and struck Comyn a blow with his dagger. Having done so, he instantly ran out of the church and called for his horse. Two gentlemen, Lindesay and Kirkpatrick, friends of his, were then in attendance on him. Seeing him pale, bloody, and in much agitation, they eagerly inquired what was the matter.

"I doubt," said Bruce, "that I have slain the Red Comyn."

"Do you leave such a matter in doubt?" said Kirkpatrick. "I will mak' siccar!"

Accordingly, he and his companion Lindesay rushed into the church, and made the matter certain with a vengeance, by despatching the wounded Comyn with their daggers. His uncle, Sir Robert Comyn, was slain at the same time.

After the deed was done, Bruce might be called desperate. He had committed an action which was sure to bring down upon him the vengeance of all Comyn's relations, the resentment of the King of England, and the displeasure of the church, on account of having slain his enemy within consecrated ground. He determined, therefore, to bid them all defiance at once, and to assert his pretensions to the throne of Scotland. He drew his own followers together, summoned to meet him such barons as still entertained hopes of the freedom of the country, and was crowned king at the Abbey of Scone.

Everything relating to the ceremony was hastily performed. A small circlet of gold was hurriedly made, to

represent the ancient crown of Scotland, which Edward had carried off to England. The Earl of Fife, whose duty it was to have placed the crown on the king's head, would not give his attendance. But the ceremonial was performed by his sister, Isabella, Countess of Buchan, though without the consent either of her brother or husband. A few barons, whose names ought to be dear to their country, joined Bruce in his attempt to vindicate the independence of Scotland.

Edward was dreadfully incensed when he heard that, after all the pains which he had taken, and all the blood which had been spilled, the Scots were making this new attempt to shake off his authority. Though now old, feeble, and sickly, he made a solemn vow at a great festival, in presence of all his court, that he would take the most ample vengeance upon Robert the Bruce and his adherents. He marched against Bruce accordingly, at the head of a powerful army.

The commencement of Bruce's undertaking was most disastrous. He was crowned on 29th March, 1306. On the 18th May he was excommunicated by the Pope, on account of the murder of Comyn within consecrated ground, a sentence which excluded him from all the benefits of religion, and authorised any one to kill him. Finally, on the 19th June, the new king was completely defeated near Methven by the Earl of Pembroke. His horse was killed under him in the action, and he was for a moment a prisoner. But he had fallen into the power of a Scottish knight, who, though he served in the English army, did not choose to be the instrument of putting Bruce into their hands, and allowed him to escape.

Bruce, with a few brave adherents, among whom was the young Lord of Douglas, who was afterwards called the Good Lord James, retired into the Highland mountains, where they were chased from one place of refuge to another, often in great danger, and suffering many hardships. The Bruce's wife, now Queen of Scotland, with several other ladies, accompanied her husband and his few followers during their wanderings.

At last dangers increased so much around the brave

King Robert, that he was obliged to separate himself from his queen and her ladies ; for the winter was coming on, and it would be impossible for the women to endure this wandering sort of life when the frost and snow should set in. So Bruce left his queen, with the Countess of Buchan, and others, in the only stronghold which remained to him, the castle of Kildrummie, in Aberdeenshire. The king also left his youngest brother, Nigel Bruce, to defend them against the English ; and he himself, with his second brother Edward, who was a very brave man, but rash and passionate, went over to the island of Rachrin, on the coast of Ireland, where Bruce and the few men that followed his fortunes passed the winter of 1306. In the meantime, ill luck seemed to pursue all his friends in Scotland. The castle of Kildrummie was taken by the English, and Nigel Bruce, a beautiful and brave youth, was cruelly put to death by the victors. The ladies who had attended on Robert's queen, as well as the queen herself, and the Countess of Buchan, were thrown into strict confinement, and treated with the utmost severity.

The Countess of Buchan had given Edward great offence by being the person who placed the crown on the head of Robert Bruce. She was imprisoned within the castle of Berwick, in a cage made on purpose.

The news of the taking of Kildrummie, the captivity of his wife, and the execution of his brother, reached Bruce while he was residing in a miserable dwelling at Rachrin, and reduced him to the point of despair.

It was about this time that an incident occurred, which, although it rests only on tradition, is rendered probable by the manners of the time. After receiving the last unpleasant intelligence from Scotland, Bruce was lying one morning on his wretched bed, and deliberating with himself whether he had not better resign all thoughts of again attempting to make good his right to the Scottish crown, and, dismissing his followers, transport himself and his brother to the Holy Land, and spend the rest of his life in fighting against the Saracens.

While he was pondering these alternatives, and doubtful of what he should do, Bruce was looking upward to the

roof of the cabin, and his eye was attracted by a spider, which, hanging at the end of a long thread of its own spinning, was endeavouring to swing itself from one beam to another, for the purpose of fixing the line on which it meant to stretch its web. The insect made the attempt again and again without success; and at length Bruce counted that it had tried to carry its point six times, and as often failed. It occurred to him that he had himself fought just six battles against the English and their allies, and that the poor persevering spider was exactly in the same predicament, having made as many trials, and been as often disappointed. "Now," thought Bruce, "as I have no means of knowing what is best to be done, I will be guided by the luck which shall attend this spider. If the insect shall make another effort to fix its thread, and shall be successful, I will venture a seventh time to try my fortune in Scotland.

While he was forming this resolution, the spider made another effort with all the force it could master, and fairly succeeded in fastening its thread to the beam which it had so often in vain attempted to reach. Bruce, seeing the success of the spider, resolved to try his own fortune; and as he had never before gained a victory, so he never afterwards sustained any considerable defeat.

Having determined to renew his efforts to obtain possession of Scotland, notwithstanding the smallness of the means which he had for accomplishing so great a purpose, Bruce removed himself and his followers from Rachrin to the island of Arran, which lies in the mouth of the Clyde.

He was now within sight of Scotland, and not far distant from his own family possessions, where the people were most likely to be attached to him. He began immediately to form plans with Douglas as to the best mode of renewing their enterprise against the English. The Douglas resolved to go disguised to his own country, and raise his followers, in order to begin their enterprise by taking revenge on an English nobleman, Lord Clifford, upon whom Edward had conferred his estates, and who *had taken up his residence in the castle of Douglas.*

Bruce, on his part, opened communication with the

opposite coast of Carrick, by means of one of his followers named Cuthbert. This person had directions, that if he should find the countrymen of Carrick disposed to take up arms against the English, he was to make a fire on a headland, called Turnberry, on the coast of Ayrshire, opposite to the island of Arran. The appearance of a fire on this place was to be a signal for Bruce to put to sea with his followers, who were not more than three hundred in number, for the purpose of landing in Carrick and joining the insurgents.



TURNBERRY.

Bruce and his men watched eagerly for the signal, but for some time in vain. At length a fire on Turnberry-head became visible, and the king and his followers merrily betook themselves to their ships and galleys, concluding that their Carrick friends were all in arms, and ready to join them. They landed on the beach at midnight, where they found their spy Cuthbert alone in waiting for them, with very bad news. Lord Percy, he said, was in the country, with two or three hundred Englishmen, and had terrified the people so much, both by threats and actions, that none of them dared to think *of rebelling against King Edward.*

"Traitor!" said Bruce, "why, then, did you make the signal?"

"Alas," replied Cuthbert, "the fire was not made by me, but by some other person, for what purpose I know not; but as soon as I saw it burning, I knew that you would come over, thinking it my signal, and therefore I came down to wait for you on the beach, to tell you how the matter stood."

King Robert's first idea was to return to Arran after this disappointment; but his brother Edward refused to go back. Bruce also, after some hesitation, determined that since he had been thus brought to the mainland of Scotland, he would remain there, and take such adventure and fortune as heaven should send him.

Accordingly, he began to skirmish with the English so successfully, as to oblige the Lord Percy to quit Carrick. Bruce then dispersed his men upon various adventures against the enemy, in which they were generally successful.

In consequence of these successes, the English were afraid to venture into the open country as formerly. They thought it safer to lie still in the towns and castles which they had garrisoned, and wait till the King of England should once more come to their assistance with a powerful army.

CHAPTER II.

THE EXPLOITS OF DOUGLAS AND RANDOLPH.—1307-1313.

WHEN King Edward the First heard that Scotland was again in arms against him, he marched down to the Borders, with many threats of what he would do to avenge himself on Bruce and his party, whom he called rebels. But he was now old and feeble, and while he was making his preparations, he was taken very ill, and after lingering a long time, at length died on the 6th July 1307, in Cumberland, in full sight of Scotland, and not *three miles from its frontier*. His hatred to that country

was so inveterate, that his thoughts of revenge seemed to occupy his mind on his deathbed. He made his son promise never to make peace with Scotland until the nation was subdued. He gave also very singular directions concerning the disposal of his dead body. He ordered that it should be boiled in a cauldron till the flesh parted from the bones, after which they should be wrapped up in a bull's hide, and carried at the head of the English army as often as the Scots attempted to recover their freedom. He thought that he had inflicted such distresses on the Scots, and invaded and defeated them so often, that his very dead bones would terrify them. His son, Edward the Second, did not choose to execute this strange injunction, but caused his father to be buried in Westminster Abbey, where his tomb is still to be seen, bearing for an inscription, "Here lies the hammer of the Scottish Nation."

Edward the Second was neither so brave nor so wise as his father; on the contrary, he was a weak prince, fond of idle amusements, and worthless favourites. It was lucky for this country that such was his disposition. He marched a little way into Scotland with the large army which Edward the First had collected, but went back again without fighting, which gave great encouragement to Bruce's party.

Several of the Scottish nobility now took arms in different parts of the country, declared for King Robert, and fought against the English troops and garrisons. The most distinguished of these was the good Lord James of Douglas. Some of his most memorable exploits respected his own castle of Douglas, in which, being an important fortress, and strongly situated, the English had placed a large garrison. James of Douglas saw, with great displeasure, his castle filled with English soldiers, and stored with great quantities of corn, cattle, wine, and ale, and other supplies which they were preparing, to enable them to assist the English army with provisions. So he resolved, if possible, to be revenged upon the *captain of the garrison* and his soldiers.

For this purpose, Douglas went in disguise to the

house of one of his old servants, Thomas Dickson, a strong, faithful, and bold man, and laid a scheme for taking the castle. A holiday was approaching, called Palm Sunday. Upon this day, the people went to church in procession, with green boughs in their hands. Just as the English soldiers, who had marched down from the castle, got into church, one of Lord James's followers raised the cry of *Douglas! Douglas!* which was the shout with which that family always began battle. Thomas Dickson, and some friends whom he had collected, instantly drew their swords, and killed the first Englishman whom they met. But as the signal had been given too soon, Dickson was borne down and slain. Douglas and his men presently after forced their way into the church. The English soldiers attempted to defend themselves; but, being taken by surprise, and unprepared, they were for the greater part killed or made prisoners, and that so suddenly, and with so little noise, that their companions in the castle never heard of it. Consequently, when Douglas and his men approached the castle gate, they found it open, and that part of the garrison which were left at home busied cooking provisions for those that were at church. But he dared not stay there, lest the English should come in force and besiege him; and therefore he resolved to destroy all the provisions which they had stored up in the castle, and to render the place unavailable to them. The castle, with all it contained, was burned to the ground; and this sweeping destruction was afterwards known as the Douglas larder.

Other great lords, besides Douglas, were now exerting themselves against the English. Amongst them was Sir Thomas Randolph, whose mother was a sister of King Robert. While Bruce was gradually getting possession of the country, and driving out the English, Edinburgh, the principal town of Scotland, remained with its strong castle in possession of the invaders. Sir Thomas Randolph was extremely desirous to gain this important place; but the castle is situated on a very steep and lofty rock, so that it is difficult or almost impossible even to get up to the foot of the walls, much more to climb over them.

So while Randolph was considering what was to be done, there came to him a Scottish gentleman, named Francis, who had joined Bruce's standard, and asked to speak with him in private. He then told Randolph, that in his youth he had lived in the castle of Edinburgh, and that his father had then been keeper of the fortress.



EDINBURGH CASTLE.

It happened at that time that Francis was much in love with a lady, who lived in a part of the town beneath the castle, which is called the Grassmarket. Now, as he could not get out of the castle by day to see his mistress, he had practised a way of clambering by night down the castle rock on the south side, and returning at his pleasure ; when he came to the foot of the wall, he made use of a ladder to get over it, as it was not very high at that point, those who built it having trusted to the steepness of the crag ; and for the same reason, no watch was placed there. Francis had gone and come so frequently in this dangerous manner, that, though it was now long ago, he told Randolph he knew the road so well, that he would undertake to guide a small party of men by night to the bottom of the wall ; and as they might bring *ladders with them*, there would be no difficulty in scaling

it. The great risk was, that of their being discovered by the watchmen while in the act of ascending the cliff, in which case every man of them must have perished.

Nevertheless, Randolph did not hesitate to attempt the adventure. He took with him only thirty men, and came one dark night to the foot of the rock, which they began to ascend under the guidance of Francis, who went before them upon his hands and feet, up one cliff, down another, and round another, where there was scarce room to support themselves. All the while, these thirty men were obliged to follow in a line, one after the other, by a path that was fitter for a cat than a man. The noise of a stone falling, or a word spoken from one to another, would have alarmed the watchman. They were obliged, therefore, to move with the greatest precaution. When they were far up the crag, and near the foundation of the wall, they heard the guards going their rounds, to see that all was safe in and about the castle. Randolph and his party had nothing for it but to lie close and quiet, each man under the crag, as he happened to be placed, and trust that the guards would pass by without noticing them. And while they were waiting in breathless alarm, they got a new cause of fright. One of the soldiers of the castle, willing to startle his comrades, suddenly threw a stone from the wall, and cried out, "Aha, I see you well!" The stone came thundering down over the heads of Randolph and his men, who naturally thought themselves discovered. If they had stirred, or made the slightest noise, they would have been entirely destroyed; for the soldiers above might have killed every man of them, merely by rolling down stones. But being courageous and chosen men, they remained quiet, and the English soldiers, who thought their comrade was merely playing them a trick (as was, indeed, the case), passed on without further examination.

Then Randolph and his men got up and came in haste to the foot of the wall, which was not above twice a man's height in that place. They planted the ladders they had brought, and Francis mounted first to show them the way; *Sir Andrew Grey*, a brave knight, followed him,

and Randolph himself was the third man who got over. Then the rest followed. When once they were within the walls, there was not so much to do, for the garrison were asleep and unarmed, excepting the watch, who were speedily destroyed. Thus was Edinburgh Castle taken in March, 1312-13.

The English now possessed scarcely any place of importance in Scotland except Stirling, which was besieged by Edward Bruce, the king's brother. Sir Philip Mowbray, who commanded the castle, finding that he was likely to be reduced to extremity for want of provisions, made an agreement with Edward Bruce that he would surrender the place, provided he were not relieved by the King of England before midsummer. Sir Edward agreed to these terms, and allowed Mowbray to go to London, to tell King Edward of the conditions he had made. But when King Robert heard what his brother had done, he thought it was too great a risk, since it obliged him to venture a battle with the full strength of Edward II. Sir Edward answered his brother with his naturally audacious spirit: "Let Edward bring every man he has, we will fight them were they more." The king admired his courage, though it was mingled with rashness. "Since it is so, brother," he said, "we will manfully abide battle, and assemble all who love us, and value the freedom of Scotland, to come with all the men they have, and help us to oppose King Edward, should he come with his army to rescue Stirling."

CHAPTER III.

THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN.—1314.

KING EDWARD II. was influenced by unworthy favourites, and thought more of pleasure than of governing his kingdom. His father, Edward I., would have entered Scotland at the head of a large army, before he had left Bruce time to recover so much of the country. But *very fortunately* for the Scots, that wise and skilful,

though ambitious king, died when he was on the point of marching into Scotland. His son Edward had afterwards neglected the Scottish war, and thus lost the opportunity of defeating Bruce when his force was small. But now when Sir Philip Mowbray came to London to tell the king that Stirling, the last Scottish town of importance which remained in possession of the English, was to be surrendered if it were not relieved by force of arms before midsummer, all the English nobles called out, that it would be a sin and shame to permit the fair conquest which Edward I. had made to be forfeited to the Scots for want of fighting.

King Edward the Second, therefore, assembled one of the greatest armies which a king of England ever commanded. There were troops brought from all his dominions. Many brave soldiers from the French provinces which the King of England possessed in France; many Irish, many Welsh; and all the great English nobles and barons, with their followers, were assembled in one great army. The number was not less than one hundred thousand men.

King Robert the Bruce summoned all his nobles and barons to join him, when he heard of the great preparations which the King of England was making. They were not so numerous as the English by many thousand men. In fact, his whole army did not very much exceed thirty thousand, and they were much worse armed than the wealthy Englishmen; but then Robert, who was at their head, was one of the most expert generals of the time; and the officers he had under him were his brother Edward, his nephew Randolph, his faithful follower the Douglas, and other brave and experienced leaders, who commanded the same men that had been accustomed to fight and gain victories under every disadvantage of situation and numbers.

The king, on his part, studied how he might supply, by address and stratagem, what he wanted in numbers and strength. He knew the superiority of the English, both in their heavy-armed cavalry, who were much better mounted and armed than that of the Scots, and in their archers, who were better trained than any others in the

world. Both these advantages he resolved to provide against. With this purpose he led his army down into a plain near Stirling called the Park, near which, and beneath it, the English army must needs pass through a boggy country broken with water-courses, while the Scots occupied hard, dry ground. He then caused all the ground upon the front of his line of battle, where cavalry were likely to act, to be dug full of holes about as deep as a man's knee. They were filled with light brushwood, and the turf was laid on the top, so that it appeared a plain field, while in reality it was all full of these pits as a honeycomb is of holes. He also, it is said, caused steel spikes, called calthrops, to be scattered up and down in the plain where the English cavalry were most likely to advance, trusting in that manner to lame and destroy their horses.



STIRLING CASTLE.

When the Scottish army was drawn up, the line stretched north and south. On the south it was terminated by the banks of the Bannockburn, which are so rocky that no troops could attack them there. On the left the Scottish line extended near to the town of Stirling. When the main body of his army was thus placed in order, the *king posted Randolph*, with a body of horse, near to

the church of St. Ninian's, commanding him to use the utmost diligence to prevent any succours from being thrown into Stirling Castle. He then despatched James of Douglas, and Sir Robert Keith, the marschal of the Scottish army, in order that they might survey, as nearly as they could, the English force, which was now approaching from Falkirk. They returned with information that the approach of that vast host was one of the most beautiful and terrible sights which could be seen; that the whole country seemed covered with men-at-arms on horse and foot; that the number of standards, banners, and pennons made so gallant a show that the bravest and most numerous host in Christendom might be alarmed to see King Edward moving against them.

It was upon the 23rd of June, 1314, the King of Scotland heard the news that the English army was approaching Stirling. He drew out his army, therefore, in the order which he had before resolved upon. After a short time, Bruce, who was looking out anxiously for the enemy, saw a body of English cavalry trying to get into Stirling from the eastward. This was the Lord Clifford, who, with a chosen body of eight hundred horse, had been detached to relieve the castle.

"See, Randolph," said the king to his nephew, "there is a rose fallen from your chaplet." Randolph made no reply, but rushed against Clifford with little more than half his number. The Scots were on foot. The English turned to charge them with their lances, and Randolph drew up his men in close order to receive the onset. He seemed to be in so much danger that Douglas asked leave of the king to go and assist him. The king refused him permission.

"Let Randolph," he said, "redeem his own fault; I cannot break the order of battle for his sake." Still the danger appeared greater, and the English horse seemed entirely to encompass the small handful of Scottish infantry. "So, please you," said Douglas to the king, "my heart will not suffer me to stand idle and see Randolph perish; I must go to his assistance." He rode off accordingly; but long before they had reached the place of

combat, they saw the English horses galloping off, many with empty saddles.

"Halt!" said Douglas to his men, "Randolph has gained the day; since we were not soon enough to help him in the battle, do not let us lessen his glory by approaching the field."

The van of the English army now came in sight, and a number of their bravest knights drew near to see what the Scots were doing. They saw King Robert dressed in his armour, and distinguished by a gold crown, which he wore over his helmet. He was not mounted on his great war horse, because he did not expect to fight that evening. But he rode on a little pony up and down the ranks of his army, putting his men in order, and carried in his hand a sort of battle-axe made of steel. When the king saw the English horsemen draw near, he advanced a little before his own men, that he might look at them more nearly.

There was a knight among the English, called Sir Henry de Bohun, who thought this would be a good opportunity to gain great fame to himself, and put an end to the war, by killing King Robert. The king being poorly mounted, and having no lance, Bohun galloped on him suddenly and furiously, thinking with his long spear and his tall, powerful horse easily to bear him down to the ground. King Robert saw him, and permitted him to come very near, then suddenly turned his pony a little to one side, so that Sir Henry missed him with his lance-point, and was in the act of being carried past him by the career of his horse, when King Robert rose up in his stirrups and struck Sir Henry on the head with his battle-axe so terrible a blow, that it broke to pieces his iron helmet as if it had been a nut-shell, and hurled him from his saddle. He was dead before he reached the ground.

The next morning, being the 24th June, at break of day, the battle began in terrible earnest. The English, as they advanced, saw the Scots getting into line. The Abbot of Inchaffray walked through their ranks bare-footed, and exhorted them to fight for their freedom. *They kneeled down as he passed, and prayed to Heaven*

for victory. King Edward, who saw this, called out, "They kneel down; they are asking forgiveness." "Yes," said a celebrated English baron called Ingelram de Umphraville, "but they ask it from God, not from us; these men will conquer, or die upon the field."

The English king ordered his men to begin the battle. The archers then bent their bows and began to shoot so closely together, that the arrows fell like flakes of snow on a Christmas-day. They killed many of the Scots, and might, as at Falkirk and other places, have decided the victory; but Bruce was prepared for them. He had in readiness a body of men-at-arms, well mounted, who rode at full gallop among the archers; and as they had no weapons, save their bows and arrows, which they could not use when they were attacked hand to hand, they were cut down in great numbers by the Scottish horsemen, and thrown into total confusion.

The fine English cavalry then advanced to support their archers, and to attack the Scottish line. But, coming over the ground which was dug full of pits, the horses fell into the holes, and the riders lay tumbling about, without any means of defence, and unable to rise from the weight of their armour. The Englishmen began to fall into general disorder; and the Scottish king, bringing up more of his forces, attacked and pressed them still more closely.

On a sudden, while the battle was obstinately maintained on both sides, an event happened which decided the victory. The servants and attendants on the Scottish camp, when they saw that their masters were likely to gain the day, rushed from their place of concealment with such weapons as they could get, that they might have their share in the victory and in the spoil. The English, seeing them come suddenly over the hill, mistook this disorderly rabble for a new army coming up to sustain the Scots, and, losing all heart, began to shift every man for himself.

The English never before or afterwards, whether in France or Scotland, lost so dreadful a battle as that of *Bannockburn*, nor did the Scots ever gain one of the same

importance. Many of the best and bravest of the English nobility and gentry lay dead on the field; a great many more were made prisoners; and the whole of King Edward's immense army was dispersed or destroyed.

The English, after this great defeat, were no longer in a condition to support their pretensions to be masters of Scotland, or to continue, as they had done for nearly twenty years, to send armies into that country to overcome it. On the contrary, they became for a time scarce able to defend their own frontiers against King Robert and his soldiers.

Thus did Robert Bruce arise from the condition of an exile to the rank of an independent sovereign, universally acknowledged to be one of the wisest and bravest kings who then lived. Scotland was also raised once more from the position of a distressed and conquered province to that of a free and independent state, governed by its own laws, and subject to its own princes; and although the country was, after the Bruce's death, often subjected to great loss and distress, both by the hostility of the English, and by the unhappy civil wars among the Scots themselves, yet they never afterwards lost the freedom for which Wallace had laid down his life, and which King Robert had recovered, not less by his wisdom than by his weapons.

CHAPTER IV.

THE REIGN AND DEATH OF BRUCE.—1315-1330.

ROBERT BRUCE continued to reign gloriously for several years, and was so constantly victorious over the English, that the Scots seemed during his government to have acquired a complete superiority over their neighbours. But then we must remember that Edward II., who reigned in England, was a foolish prince, and listened to bad counsels. It is no wonder, therefore, that he was beaten by so wise and experienced a general as Robert Bruce, *who had fought his way to the crown through so many*

disasters, and acquired in consequence so much renown, that he was generally accounted one of the best soldiers and wisest sovereigns of his time.

In the last year of Robert the Bruce's reign, he became very sickly and infirm, chiefly owing to leprosy, which he had caught during the hardships and misfortunes of his youth, when he was so frequently obliged to hide himself in woods and morasses, without a roof to shelter him. He lived at Cardross, on the banks of the Clyde; and his chief amusement was sailing upon the river.

While Bruce was in this feeble state, Edward II., King of England, died, and was succeeded by his son, Edward III. This king turned out afterwards to be one of the wisest and bravest kings which England ever had; but when he first mounted the throne he was very young, and under the entire management of his mother, who governed by means of a wicked favourite called Mortimer.

The war between the English and the Scots still lasting at the time, Bruce sent his two great commanders, the Good Lord James Douglas and Thomas Randolph, Earl of Murray, to lay waste the counties of Northumberland and Durham.

Their soldiers were about twenty thousand in number, all lightly armed, and mounted on horses that were but small in height, but excessively active. The men themselves carried no provisions, except a bag of oatmeal; and each had at his saddle a small plate of iron called a girdle, on which, when they pleased, they could bake the oatmeal into cakes. They killed the cattle of the English as they travelled through the country, roasted the flesh on wooden spits, or boiled it in the skins of the animals themselves, putting in a little water with the beef, to prevent the fire from burning the hide to pieces. This was rough cookery. They made their shoes, or rather sandals, in as coarse a way; cutting them out of the raw hides of the cattle, and fitting them to their ankles, like what are now called short gaiters. As this sort of buskin had the hairy side of the hide outermost, the English called those who wore them *rough-footed Scots*, and sometimes, from the colour of the hide, *red-shanks*.

As such forces needed to carry nothing with them, either for provisions or ammunition, the Scots moved with amazing speed, from mountain to mountain, and from glen to glen, pillaging and destroying the country wherever they came. In the meanwhile, the young King of England pursued them with a much larger army; but as it was encumbered by the necessity of carrying provisions in great quantities, and by the slow motions of men in heavy armour, they could not come up with the Scots, although they saw every day the smoke of the houses and villages which they were burning. The King of England was extremely angry; for, though only a boy of sixteen years old, he longed to fight the Scots, and to chastise them for the mischief they were doing to his country; and at length he grew so impatient, that he offered a large reward to any one who would show him where the Scottish army were.

At length, after the English host had suffered severe hardships from want of provisions, and fatiguing journeys through fords, and swamps, and morasses, a gentleman named Rokeby came into the camp, and claimed the reward which the king had offered. He told the king that he had been made prisoner by the Scots, and that they had said they should be as glad to meet the English king as he to see them. Accordingly, Rokeby guided the English army to the place where the Scots lay encamped.

But the English king was no nearer to the battle which he desired; for Douglas and Randolph, knowing the force and numbers of the English army, had taken up their camp on a steep hill, at the bottom of which ran a deep river, called the Wear, having a channel filled with large stones, so that there was no possibility for the English to attack the Scots without crossing the water, and then climbing up the steep hill in the very face of their enemy; a risk which was too great to be attempted.

While the armies lay thus opposed to each other, Douglas resolved to give the young King of England a lesson in the art of war. At the dead of night, he left *the Scottish camp* with a small body of chosen horse, not

above two hundred, well armed. He crossed the river in deep silence, and came to the English camp, which was but carelessly guarded. Seeing this, Douglas rode past the English sentinels as if he had been an officer of the English army, saying: "Ha, Saint George! you keep bad watch here."—Presently after, Douglas heard an English soldier, who lay stretched by the fire, say to his comrade, "I cannot tell what is to happen to us in this place; but, for my part, I have a great fear of the Black Douglas playing us some trick."

"You shall have cause to say so," said Douglas to himself.

When he had thus got into the midst of the English camp without being discovered, he drew his sword, and cut asunder the ropes of a tent, calling out his usual war-cry: "Douglas, Douglas! English thieves, you are all dead men." His followers immediately began to cut down and overturn the tents, cutting and stabbing the English soldiers as they endeavoured to get to arms.

Douglas forced his way to the pavilion of the king himself, and very nearly carried that young prince prisoner out of the middle of his great army. Edward's chaplain, however, and many of his household, stood to arms bravely in his defence, while the young king escaped by creeping away beneath the canvas of his tent. The chaplain and several of the king's officers were slain; but the whole camp was now alarmed and in arms, so that Douglas was obliged to retreat, which he did by bursting through the English at the side of the camp opposite to that by which he had entered. Being separated from his men in the confusion, he was in great danger of being slain by an Englishman who encountered him with a huge club. This man he killed, but with considerable difficulty; and then blowing his horn to collect his soldiers, who soon gathered around him, he returned to the Scottish camp, having sustained very little loss.

After this a peace was concluded with Robert Bruce, on terms highly honourable to Scotland; for the English king renounced all pretensions to the sovereignty of the country, and, moreover, gave his sister, Joanna, to be

wife to Robert Bruce's son David. This treaty was very advantageous for the Scots. It was called the treaty of Northampton, because it was concluded at that town in the year 1328.

Good King Robert did not long survive this joyful event. He was not more than four-and-fifty years of age, but his bad health was caused by the hardships which he sustained during his youth, and at length he became very ill. Finding that he could not recover, he assembled around his bedside the nobles and counsellors in whom he most trusted. He told them, that now, being on his deathbed, he sorely repented all his misdeeds, and particularly that he had, in his passion, killed Comyn with his own hand, in the church and before the altar. He said that if he had lived, he had intended to go to Jerusalem, to make war upon the Saracens who held the Holy Land, as some expiation for the evil deeds he had done. But since he was about to die, he requested of his dearest friend and bravest warrior, the Good Lord James Douglas, that he should carry his heart to the Holy Land.

The king soon afterwards expired, and his heart was taken from his body and embalmed. Then the Douglas caused a case of silver to be made, into which he put the Bruce's heart, and wore it around his neck, by a string of silk and gold. And he set forward for the Holy Land, with a gallant train of the bravest men in Scotland.

Douglas never got to the end of his journey. In going to Palestine, he landed in Spain, where the Saracen king was invading the realms of Alphonso, the Spanish king of Castile. King Alphonso received Douglas with great honour and distinction, and people came from all parts to see the great soldier, whose fame was well known through every part of the Christian world. King Alphonso easily persuaded the Scottish earl that he would do good service to the Christian cause, by assisting him to drive back the Saracens of Grenada, before proceeding on his voyage to Jerusalem. Lord Douglas and his followers went accordingly to a great battle against Osmyn, *and had little difficulty in defeating the Saracens who*

were opposed to them. But being ignorant of the mode of fighting among the cavalry of the East, the Scots pursued the chase too far, and the Moors, when they saw them scattered and separated from each other, turned suddenly back, and with a loud cry of *Allah illah Allah*, which is their shout of battle, and surrounded such of the Scottish knights and squires as had advanced too hastily, and were dispersed from each other.

When he found the enemy press so thick round him, as to leave him no chance of escaping, the earl took from his neck the Bruce's heart, and speaking to it, as he would have done to the king had he been alive, "Pass first in fight," he said, "as thou wert wont to do, and Douglas will follow thee, or die." He then threw the king's heart among the enemy, and rushing forward to the place where it fell, was there slain. His body was found lying above the silver case, as if it had been his last object to defend the Bruce's heart.



DUNFERMLINE ABBEY.

Many of Douglas's followers were slain in the battle in which he himself fell. The rest resolved not to proceed on their journey to Palestine, but to return to Scotland. The Bruce's heart was buried below the high altar in Mel-

rose Abbey. As for his body, it was laid in the sepulchre in the church of Dunfermline, under a marble stone. But the church becoming afterwards ruinous, and the roof falling down, the monument was broken to pieces, and nobody could tell where it stood. But some years ago, when they were repairing the church, they found fragments of the marble tomb of Robert Bruce. Then they began to dig farther, thinking to discover the body of this celebrated monarch; and at length they came to the skeleton of a tall man, and they knew it must be that of King Robert, both as he was known to have been buried in a winding sheet of cloth of gold, of which many fragments were found about this skeleton, and also because the breastbone appeared to have been sawn through, in order to take out the heart.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SCOTLAND.

IN Scotland, and throughout the greater part of Europe, the principles of freedom were protected by the feudal system, which was now universally introduced. The king, according to that system, bestowed large estates upon the nobles and great barons, who were called vassals. For the fiefs, or possessions, which they thus received from the king, they were obliged to follow him when summoned to battle, and to attend upon his Great Council, in which all matters concerning the affairs of the kingdom were considered and resolved upon. It was in this great council, now called a Parliament, that the laws of the kingdom were resolved upon, or altered, at the pleasure, not of the king alone, nor of the council alone, but as both the king and council should agree together.

At first, there is no doubt that every vassal who held lands directly of the crown had this privilege; and a baron, or royal vassal, not only had the right, but was obliged, *to attend the great council of the kingdom.* Accordingly,

all the great nobility usually came on the king's summons; but then it was very inconvenient for men of smaller estates to be making long journeys to the Parliament. Besides, if all the royal vassals, or freeholders, as they began to be called, had chosen to attend, the number of the assembly would have been far too great for any purpose of deliberation. From this it happened that the lesser barons assembled in their different districts, or shires, and there made choice of one or two of the most experienced of their number to attend the Parliament, or great council, in the name, and to take care of the interest, of the whole body. Thus the crown vassals who attended upon and composed the Parliament, or the National Council of Scotland, came to consist of two different bodies, namely, the peers or great nobility, whom the king especially summoned, and such of the lesser barons as were sent to represent the crown vassals in the different shires or counties of Scotland. But besides these two different classes, the great council also contained the representatives of the clergy, and of the boroughs, or considerable towns.

In the times of the Roman Catholic religion, the churchmen exercised very great power and authority in every kingdom of Europe. It is therefore not wonderful that the chief men of the clergy, such as the bishops, and those abbots of the great abbeys who were called mitred abbots, from their being entitled to wear mitres, like bishops, should have obtained seats in Parliament. They were admitted there for the purpose of looking after the affairs of the church, and ranked along with the peers or nobles having titles.

Besides other privileges, the boroughs had the very important right of sending representatives or commissioners, who sat in Parliament, to look after the interests of the towns which they represented, as well as to assist in the general affairs of the nation.

The Scottish Parliament entirely resembled the English in the nature of its constitution. But there was this very material difference in the mode of transacting business, *that in England* the peers, or great nobility, with

the bishops and great abbots, sat, deliberated, and voted, in a body by themselves, which was called the House of Lords, or of Peers; and the representatives of the counties, or shires, together with those of the boroughs, occupied a different place of meeting, and were called the Lower House, or House of Commons. In Scotland, on the contrary, the nobles, prelates, representatives for the shires, and delegates for the boroughs, all sat in the same apartment, and debated and voted as members of the same assembly.

The principal evil of those times was the great power of the nobility, which was such as to place them almost beyond the control of the king's authority. Sometimes they fought amongst themselves, sometimes they united together against the sovereign. On all occasions they were disposed for war rather than peace.

Each of these nobles within the country which was subject to him, more resembled a king than a subject of the monarch of Scotland; and, in one or two instances, some of them became so powerful as to threaten to dispossess the king of his throne and dominions. The very smallest of them often made war on each other without the king's consent, and thus there was a universal scene of disorder and bloodshed through the whole country.

These causes of private crimes and public quarrels subsisted even in the midland counties of Scotland, where the king generally resided, and where he necessarily possessed most power to maintain his own authority, and enforce the execution of the laws. But the Highlands and the Borders were so much wilder and more barbarous than the others, that they might be said to be altogether without law; and although they were nominally subject to the King of Scotland, yet when he desired to execute justice in either of those great districts, he could not do so otherwise than by marching there in person, at the head of a strong body of forces, and seizing upon the offenders, and putting them to death with little or no form of trial.

But though the Borderers resembled the Highlanders *in their mode of government and habits of plundering,*

and, as it may be truly added, in their disobedience to the government of Scotland, yet they differed in many particulars. The Highlanders fought always on foot, the Borderers were all horsemen. The Borderers spoke the same language with the Lowlanders, wore the same sort of dress, and carried the same arms. Being accustomed to fight against the English, they were also much better disciplined than the Highlanders. But in point of obedience to the Scottish government, they were not much different from the clans of the north.

Military officers, called wardens, were appointed along the Borders, to keep these unruly people in order; but as these wardens were generally themselves chiefs of clans, they did not do much to mend the evil. Robert the Bruce committed great part of the charge of the Borders to the Good Lord James of Douglas, who fulfilled his trust with great fidelity. But the power which the family of Douglas thus acquired, proved afterwards, in the hands of his successors, very dangerous to the crown of Scotland.

CHAPTER VI.

ACCESSION OF DAVID II.—REGENCY AND DEATH OF RANDOLPH—BATTLE OF DUPPLIN—ACCESSION OF EDWARD BALIOL TO THE THRONE OF SCOTLAND, AND HIS FLIGHT TO ENGLAND—BATTLE OF HALIDON HILL, AND RETURN OF BALIOL.—1329-1333.

ROBERT BRUCE, the greatest king who ever wore the Scottish crown, being dead, the kingdom descended to his son, David the Second. This David was only four years old at his father's death; so Randolph, Earl of Murray, became Regent. This wise provision had been made by Bruce, with consent of the Parliament of Scotland, and was very acceptable to the kingdom.

The efforts of the regent to preserve the establishment of justice and order were soon interrupted, and he was

called upon to take measures for the defence of the country. Robert Bruce was no sooner in his grave than the enemies of his family began to plot the means of destroying the government which he had established. The principal person concerned in these machinations was Edward Baliol, the son of that John Baliol, who was formerly created King of Scotland by Edward I., and afterwards dethroned by him, and committed to prison, when Edward desired to seize upon the country for himself. After being long detained in prison, John Baliol was at length suffered to go to France, where he died in obscurity. But his son, Edward Baliol, seeing, as he thought, a favourable opportunity, resolved to renew the claim of his father to the Scottish throne. He came over to England with this purpose, and although Edward III., then King of England, remembering the late successes of the Scots, did not think it prudent to enter into a war with them, yet Baliol found a large party of powerful English barons well disposed to aid his enterprise.

A great misfortune befell the country at this time, in the unexpected death of the Regent Randolph, whose experience and valour might have done so much for the protection of Scotland. He had assembled an army, and was busied with preparations for defence against the enterprise of Baliol and the disinherited lords, when, wasted by a painful and consuming disorder, he died at Musselburgh, July, 1332.

Donald, Earl of Mar, nephew to Robert Bruce, was appointed by the Scottish Parliament to be regent in the room of the Earl of Murray; but he was without experience as a soldier, and of far inferior talents as a man.

Meantime, Baliol and his friends landed in Fife, and defeated the Earl of Fife, who marched hastily to oppose them. They then advanced northward towards Dupplin, near which the Earl of Mar lay encamped with a large army, whilst another, under the Earl of March, was advancing from the southern counties of Scotland to attack the invaders in flank and rear.

It seemed as if that small handful of men must have *been inevitably* destroyed by the numbers collected to

oppose them. But Edward Baliol took the bold resolution of attacking the regent's army by night, and in their camp. With this purpose he crossed the Earn, which divided the two hostile armies. The Earl of Mar had neither placed sentries, nor observed any other of the usual precautions of a good general. The consequence was a total defeat of his army. The regent was himself slain, and many thousands of the Scots were smothered in the fight, or drowned in the river.

Baliol now assumed the crown of Scotland, which was placed upon his head at Scone; a great part of Scotland surrendered to his authority, and it seemed as if the fatal battle of Dupplin, fought 12th August, 1332, had destroyed all the advantages which had been gained by that of Bannockburn.

But his success was rather apparent than real. When the scandalous treaty, by which he had surrendered the independence of his country to Edward, came to be known in Scotland, the successors of Bruce's companions were naturally among the first to assert the cause of freedom. John Randolph, second son of the regent, had formed a secret union with Archibald Douglas, a younger brother of the Good Lord James, and they proceeded to imitate the actions of their relatives. They suddenly assembled a considerable force, and attacking Baliol, who was feasting near Annan, they cut his guards in pieces, killed his brother, and chased him out of Scotland in such haste, that he escaped on horseback without time to clothe himself, or even to saddle his horse.

Edward III. of England now formally declared war against Scotland, proposing to support the cause of Baliol, to take possession of Berwick, which that pretended king had yielded up to him, and to chastise the Scots for what he called their rebellion. He placed himself at the head of a great army, and marched towards the frontier.

The Scottish army were drawn up, 19th July, 1333, on the side of an eminence called Halidon Hill, within two miles of Berwick. King Edward moved with his whole host to attack them. The battle was decided by that formidable force, the archers of England. They were

posted in a marshy ground, from which they discharged their arrows in the most tremendous and irresistible volleys against the Scots, who, drawn up on the slope of the hill, were fully exposed to this destructive discharge, without having the means of answering it.

While the Scots suffered under these practised and skilful archers, whose arrows fell like hail amongst them, throwing their ranks into disorder, and piercing the finest armour as if it had been pasteboard, they made desperate attempts to descend the hill, and come to close combat, but in vain. The defeat of the Scots was complete. Berwick surrendered in consequence; and Scotland seemed again to be completely conquered by the English.

CHAPTER VII.

SIEGE OF LOCHLEVEN CASTLE — TOURNAMENTS — RETURN OF DAVID II. — THE BATTLE OF NEVILLE'S CROSS — THE KING'S RANSOM.

THROUGHOUT the whole of Scotland, only four castles and a small tower acknowledged the sovereignty of David Bruce, after the battle of Halidon. Lochleven Castle, situated on an island upon a large lake, was one of the four. It was besieged by an army of English. As the besiegers dared not approach the island with boats, they fell on a singular device to oblige the garrison to surrender. There is a small river, called the Leven, which runs out of the eastern extremity of the lake. Across this stream the besiegers reared a very strong and lofty mound, to prevent the waters from leaving the lake. They expected that the waters would rise in consequence of being thus confined, and overflow the island. But the governor sent out at dead of night a small boat with four men, who made a breach in the mound; and the whole body of water, breaking forth with incredible fury, swept away the tents, baggage, and troops of the *besiegers, and nearly destroyed their army.*

It may easily be imagined that during the long and terrible wars which were waged between the two countries, the condition of Scotland was most miserable. There was no refuge or protection to be found in the law at a time when every thing was decided by the strongest arm and the longest sword. There was no use in raising crops when the man who sowed was not, in all probability, permitted to reap. There was little religious devotion where so much violence prevailed; and the hearts of the people became so much inclined to acts of blood and fury that all laws of humanity and charity were transgressed without scruple. People were found starved to death in the woods with their families, while the country was so depopulated and void of cultivation that the wild deer came out of the remote forests, and approached near to the cities and the dwellings of men. Whole families were reduced to the necessity of eating grass; and others, it is said, found a more horrible aliment in the flesh of their fellow-creatures.

In the midst of all these horrors, the English and Scottish knights and nobles, when there was at any time a truce between the countries, supplied the place of the wars with tournaments and games of chivalry. These were meetings not for the express purpose of fighting, but for that of trying which was the best man-at-arms. But, instead of wrestling, leaping, or running races on foot or horse, the fashion then was that the gentlemen rode against each other in armour with their long lances, and tried which could bear the other out of the saddle, and throw him to the ground. Sometimes they fought on foot with swords and axes; and although all was meant in courtesy and fair play, yet lives were often lost in this idle manner, as much as if the contest had been carried on with the purpose of armed battle and deadly hatred. In later days they fought with swords purposely blunted on the edge, and with lances which had no steel point.

While the wars in Scotland were at the hottest, Edward became engaged in hostilities with France in consequence of having laid claim to the crown of that kingdom. He *was therefore obliged to slacken his efforts in Scotland*

and the patriots began to gain ground decisively in the dreadful contest which was so obstinately maintained on both sides. The Scots sent an embassy to obtain money and assistance from the French; and they received supplies of both, which enabled them to recover their castles and towns from the English.

The nobles of Scotland, finding the affairs of the kingdom more prosperous, now came to the resolution of bringing back from France, where he had resided for safety, their young king, David II., and his consort, Queen Joanna. They arrived in 1341. David was still a youth, nor did he possess at any period of life the wisdom and talents of his father, the great King Robert.

Edward the Third being absent in France, and in the act of besieging Calais, David was induced, by the pressing and urgent counsels of the French king, to renew the war, and profit by the king's absence from England. The young King of Scotland raised, accordingly, a large army, and entering England on the western frontier, marched eastwards towards Durham, harassing and wasting the country with great severity; the Scots boasting that, now the king and his nobles were absent, there were none in England to oppose them, save priests and base mechanics.

But they were greatly deceived. The lords of the northern counties of England, together with the Archbishop of York, assembled a gallant army. They defeated the vanguard of the Scots, and came upon the main body by surprise. The English army, in which there were many ecclesiastics, bore, as their standard, a crucifix, displayed amid the banners of the nobility. The Scots had taken post among some enclosures, which greatly embarrassed their movements, and their ranks remaining stationary, were, as on former occasions, destroyed by the English arrows. Here Sir John Grahame offered his services to disperse the bowmen, if he were intrusted with a body of cavalry. But although this was the movement which decided the battle of Bannockburn, Grahame could not obtain the means of attempting it. In the meantime the Scottish army fell fast into disorder. *The king himself* fought bravely in the midst of his

nobles, and was twice wounded with arrows; but at length he was captured. He was led in triumph through the streets of London, and committed to the Tower a close prisoner. This battle was fought at Neville's Cross, near Durham, on 17th October, 1346.

Edward III. was not more fortunate in making war on Scotland in his own name, than when he used the pretext of supporting Baliol. He marched into East Lothian in spring, 1355, and committed such ravages that the period was long marked by the name of the *Burned Candlemas*, because so many towns and villages were burned. But the Scots had removed every species of provisions which could be of use to the invaders, and avoided a general battle, while they engaged in a number of skirmishes. In this manner Edward was compelled to retreat out of Scotland, after sustaining much loss.

After the failure of this effort, he seems to have despaired of the conquest of Scotland, and entered into terms for a truce, and for setting the king at liberty. Thus David II. at length obtained his freedom from the English, after he had been detained in prison eleven years, the Scots having agreed to pay a ransom of one hundred thousand merks. He died at the age of forty-seven years, in the castle of Edinburgh, 22d February, 1370-1, after having reigned forty-two years, of which eleven were spent in captivity.

CHAPTER VIII.

ACCESSION OF ROBERT STEWART—BATTLE OF OTTERBURN— DEATH OF ROBERT II.—1370-1390.

As David the Second died childless, the male line of his father, the great Robert Bruce, was at an end. But the attachment of the Scottish nation naturally turned to the family of that heroic prince, and they resolved to confer the crown on a grandson of his by the mother's side. *Marjory, the daughter of Robert Bruce, had married*

Walter, the Lord High Steward of Scotland, and the sixth of his family who had enjoyed that high dignity, in consequence of possessing which the family had acquired the surname of Stewart. This Walter Stewart, with his wife Marjory, were the ancestors of that long line of Stewarts who afterwards ruled Scotland, and came at length to be kings of England also.

Walter, the Steward of Scotland, who married Bruce's daughter, was a gallant man, and fought bravely at Bannockburn, where he had a high command. But he died young, and much regretted. Robert Stewart, his son, was called to the throne. He was a good and kind-tempered prince. When young he had been a brave soldier; but he was now fifty-five years old. He lived a good deal retired, and was not active enough to be at the head of a fierce and unmanageable nation like the Scots, whose chief delight was in crossing swords with the English.

As an instance of the manners of the times, and of the peculiar relations then subsisting between England and Scotland, it may be mentioned that the Scottish nobles had at this time determined upon an invasion of England on a large scale, and had assembled a great army for that purpose; but learning that the people of Northumberland were raising an army on the eastern frontier, they resolved to limit their incursion to that which might be achieved by the Earl of Douglas, with a chosen band of four or five thousand men. With this force he penetrated into the mountainous frontier of England, where an assault was least expected, and issuing forth near Newcastle, fell upon the flat and rich country around, slaying, plundering, burning, and loading his army with spoil.

Percy, Earl of Northumberland, an English noble of great power, and with whom the Douglas had frequently had encounters, sent his two sons, Sir Henry and Sir Ralph Percy, to stop the progress of this invasion. Both were gallant knights; but the first, who, from his impetuosity, was called Hotspur, was one of the most *distinguished* warriors in England, as Douglas was in

Scotland. The brothers threw themselves hastily into Newcastle, to defend that important town; and as Douglas, in an insulting manner, drew up his followers before the walls, they came out to skirmish with the Scots. Douglas and Henry Percy encountered personally; and it so chanced that Douglas in the struggle got possession of Hotspur's spear, to the end of which was attached a small ornament of silk, embroidered with pearls, on which was represented a lion. Douglas shook this trophy aloft, and declared that he would carry it into Scotland, and plant it on his castle of Dalkeith.

"That," said Percy, "shalt thou never do. I will regain my lance ere thou canst get back into Scotland."

"Then," said Douglas, "come to seek it, and thou shalt find it before my tent."

The Scottish army, having completed the purpose of their expedition, began their retreat. They encamped at Otterburn, about twenty miles from the Scottish border, on the 19th August, 1388.

In the middle of the night, the alarm arose in the Scottish camp that the English host were coming upon them, and the moonlight showed the approach of Sir Henry Percy, with a body of men superior in number to that of Douglas. He had already crossed the Reed water, and was advancing towards the left flank of the Scottish army. Douglas, not choosing to receive the assault in that position, drew his men out of the camp, and, with a degree of military skill which could scarcely have been expected when his forces were of such an undisciplined character, he altogether changed the position of the army, and presented his troops with their front to the advancing English.

Hotspur, in the meantime, marched his squadrons through the deserted camp, where there were none left but a few servants and stragglers of the army. The interruptions which the English troops met with, threw them a little into disorder, when the moon arising, showed them the Scottish army, which they had supposed to be retreating, drawn up in complete order, and prepared to fight. The battle commenced with the greatest fury; for

Percy and Douglas were the two most distinguished soldiers of their time, and each army trusted in the courage and talents of their commanders, whose names were shouted on either side. The Scots, who were outnumbered, were at length about to give way, when Douglas, their leader, caused his banner to advance, attended by his best men. He himself, shouting his war-cry of "Douglas!" rushed forward, clearing his way with the blows of his battle-axe, and breaking into the very thickest of the enemy. He fell, at length, under three mortal wounds. Had his death been observed by the enemy, the event would probably have decided the battle against the Scots; but the English only knew that some brave man-at-arms had fallen. Meantime, the other Scottish nobles pressed forward, and found their general dying among several of his faithful esquires and pages, who lay slain around. A stout priest, called William of North Berwick, the chaplain of Douglas, was protecting the body of his wounded patron, with a long lance.

"How fares it, cousin?" said Sinclair, the first Scottish knight who came up to the expiring leader.

"Indifferently," answered Douglas; "but blessed be God, my ancestors have died in fields of battle, not on down beds. I sink fast; but let them still cry my war-cry, and conceal my death from my followers. There was a tradition in our family that a dead Douglas should win a field, and I trust it will be this day accomplished."

The nobles did as he had enjoined; they concealed the earl's body, and again rushed on to the battle, shouting "Douglas! Douglas!" louder than before. The English were weakened by the loss of the brave brothers, Henry and Ralph Percy, both of whom were made prisoners, fighting most gallantly, and almost no man of note amongst the English escaped death or captivity. Hence a Scottish poet has said of the name of Douglas—

"Hosts have been known at that dread sound to yield,
And, Douglas dead, his name hath won the field."

Robert II. died at his castle of Dundonald in Kyle, after a short illness, in the seventy-fifth year of his age, *on the 19th April, 1390.*

CHAPTER IX.

ACCESSION OF ROBERT III.—DEATH OF ROTHSAI.—PRINCE
JAMES TAKEN PRISONER—BATTLE OF HARLAW—DELI-
VERANCE OF JAMES I. FROM CAPTIVITY—1390—1424.

THE eldest son of Robert II. was originally called John. But it was a popular remark, that the kings named John, both of France and England, had been unfortunate, and the Scottish people were very partial to the name of Robert, from its having been borne by the great Bruce. John Stewart, therefore, on ascending the Scottish throne, changed his name to that of Robert III.

The king had been lamed in early youth by the kick of a horse, which had prevented his engaging in war. He was by disposition peaceful, religious, and just; but not firm of mind, and easily imposed on by those about him, and particularly by his brother the Duke of Albany, a man of an enterprising character, but crafty, ambitious, and cruel. This prince, the next heir to the crown, if the king's children could be displaced, continued to sow strife and animosity betwixt his father and the Duke of Rothsay, the eldest son of Robert III., and heir to his kingdom. Rothsay was young, gay, and irregular; his father old and strict in his principles; occasions of quarrel easily arose betwixt them, and Albany represented the conduct of the son to the father in the worst light. It seems that he was, in consequence, delivered up to the power of his uncle Albany, who treated him with the utmost cruelty.

Having been seized upon as he was journeying in Fife, without any suspicion, he was placed upon an ordinary work-horse, and conducted to the castle of Falkland, belonging to Albany. It was a heavy fall of rain, but the poor prince was allowed no other shelter than a peasant's cloak. When in that gloomy fortress, he was thrown into a dungeon, and for fifteen days suffered to remain without food; and the unhappy prince died in the *month of March, 1402, of famine,*

There is no evidence that the old king, infirm and simple-minded as he was, suspected the foul play which his son had received. He had still a remaining son, called James, about eleven years old, and he was probably afraid to entrust him to the keeping of Albany, as his death would have rendered that ambitious prince next heir to the throne. He resolved, therefore, to send the young prince to France, under pretence that he would receive a better education there than Scotland could afford him. An English vessel, at the instigation of Albany, captured that on board of which the prince was sailing to France, and James was sent to London. When Henry heard that the Prince of Scotland was in his power, he resolved to detain him a prisoner. The king sent him to prison, saying, that "the prince would be as well educated at his court as at that of France, for that he understood French well." This was said in mockery, but Henry kept his word in this matter; and though the Scottish prince was confined unjustly, he received an excellent education at the expense of the English monarch.

This new misfortune, which placed the only remaining son of the poor old king in the hands of the English, seems to have broken the heart of Robert III., who died about a year afterwards, overwhelmed with calamities and infirmity.

Albany was now regent of the kingdom, of which he had long actually possessed the supreme government. He was, it may be supposed, in no great hurry to obtain the release of his nephew, Prince James, whose return to Scotland must have ended his own power. He was, as we have seen, a wicked, cruel, and ambitious man; yet he was regular in administering justice, and took great care not to lay any taxes on the people.

One of the most remarkable events during his government was the battle of Harlaw, fought by Donald of the Isles, who, in the year 1411, laid claim to the earldom of Ross, then vacant, which the regent had determined to bestow on a member of his own family. Donald of the Isles raised ten thousand Highlanders, and, invading the *north of Scotland*, came as far as Harlaw, about ten miles

from Aberdeen. Here he was encountered by the Earl of Mar, at the head of an inferior army, but composed of Lowland gentlemen, better armed and disciplined than the followers of Donald. A desperate battle ensued, in which both sides suffered great loss. On that of Donald, the chiefs of the clans MacIntosh and MacLean were both slain, with about a thousand men. Mar lost nearly five hundred brave gentlemen, amongst them Ogilvy, Scrymgeour, Irvine of Drum, and other men of rank. The Provost of Aberdeen, who had brought to the Earl of Mar's host a detachment of the inhabitants of that city, was slain, fighting bravely. This loss was so much regretted by the citizens, that a resolution was adopted that no provost should in future go out in his official capacity beyond the limits of the immediate territory of the town. This rule is still observed.

But though the Lowlanders suffered severely, the Highlanders had the worst of it, and were obliged to retreat after the battle. This was fortunate for Scotland, since otherwise the Highlanders, at that time a wild and barbarous people, would have overrun, and perhaps actually conquered a great part of the civilized country. The battle of Harlaw was long remembered, owing to the bravery with which the field was disputed, and the numbers which fell on both sides.

The Regent Albany died at the castle of Stirling in the thirteenth year of his sole regency, aged upwards of eighty years, on the 3rd September, 1419, and was succeeded by his son Murdac, who was so far from being able to guide the affairs of the state, that he could not control his own sons. Their misbehaviour was so great that he began to think of putting an end to their bad conduct and his own government at the same time, by obtaining the deliverance of the king from English captivity.

The English government were not unwilling to deliver up James, the rather that he had fallen in love with Joan, the Earl of Somerset's daughter, nearly related to the royal family of England. They considered that this alliance would incline the young prince to peace with

England; and that the education which he had received, and the friendships which he had formed in that country, would incline him to be a good and peaceable neighbour. The Scots agreed to pay a considerable ransom; and upon these terms James, the first of that name, was set at liberty, and returned to become king in Scotland after eighteen years' captivity. He and his queen were crowned at Scone, 21st May, 1424.

CHAPTER X.

ACCESSION OF JAMES I.—STATE OF THE COUNTRY—DEATH OF JAMES—1424-1437.

THIS King James, the first monarch of the name, was also the first of his unfortunate family who showed a high degree of talent. He had received an excellent education, of which his talents had enabled him to make the best use. He was also prudent and just, consulted the interests of his people, and endeavoured, as far as he could, to repress those evils which had grown up through the partial government of Robert, Duke of Albany, the rule of the feeble and slothful Duke Murdac, and the vicious and violent conduct of his sons.

The first vengeance of the laws fell upon Murdac, who, with his two sons, was tried and condemned at Stirling for abuse of the king's authority, committed while Murdac was regent. They were beheaded at the little eminence at Stirling, which is still shown on the Castle Hill.

James afterwards turned his cares to the Highlands, which were in a state of terrible confusion. He marched into those disturbed districts with a strong army, and seized upon more than forty of the chiefs by whom these broils and quarrels were countenanced, put many of them to death, and obliged others to find security that they would be quiet in future.

There is a story told, which will show very strik-

ingly, the cruelty and ferocity of those Highland robbers. MacDonald, head of a band in Ross-shire, had plundered a poor widow woman of two of her cows, and who, in her anger, exclaimed repeatedly that she would never wear shoes again till she had carried her complaint to the king for redress, should she travel to Edinburgh to seek him. "It is false," answered the barbarian; "I will have you shod myself before you reach the court." Accordingly, he caused a smith to nail shoes to the poor woman's naked feet, as if they had been those of a horse; after which he thrust her forth, wounded and bleeding, upon the highway. The widow, however, being a woman of high spirit, was determined to keep her word; and, as soon as her wounds permitted her to travel, she did actually go on foot to Edinburgh, and, throwing herself before James, acquainted him with the cruelty which had been exercised on her, and, in evidence, showed her feet, still seamed and scarred. James heard her with that mixture of pity, kindness, and uncontrollable indignation which marked his character, and, in great resentment, caused MacDonald and twelve of his principal followers to be seized, and to have their feet shod with iron shoes, in the same manner as had been done to the widow. In this condition they were exhibited to the public for three days, and then executed.

Thus James I. restored a considerable degree of tranquillity to the country, which he found in such a distracted state. He made wise laws for regulating the commerce of the nation, both at home and abroad, and strict regulations for the administration of justice betwixt those who had complaints against one another.

But his greatest labour, and that which he found most difficult to accomplish, was to diminish the power of the great nobles, who ruled like so many kings, each on his own territory and estate, and made war on the king or upon one another whenever it was their pleasure to do so. These disorders he endeavoured to check, and had several of these great persons brought to trial, and deprived of their estates. The nobles complained that this was *done out of spite*, and that they were treated with hard-

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ship and injustice. It was, in consequence, resolved to put him to death.

The chief person in the plot was one Sir Robert Graham. He was bold and ambitious, and highly offended with the king on account of an imprisonment which he had sustained by the royal command. He drew into the plot the Earl of Athole, an old man of little talent, by promising to make his son, Sir Robert Stewart, King of Scotland in place of James. To prepare his scheme, Graham retreated into the remote Highlands, and from thence sent a defiance, renouncing his allegiance to the king, and threatening to put his sovereign to death with his own hand. A price was set upon his head, payable to any one who should deliver him up to justice; but he lay concealed in the wild mountains to prosecute his revenge against James.

The Christmas preceding his murder was appointed by the king for holding a feast at Perth. While there he took up his residence in an abbey of Black Friars, there being no castle or palace in the town convenient for his residence; and this made the execution of the conspiracy more easy, as his guards and the officers of his household were quartered among the citizens.

The fatal day had been spent by the king in sport and feasting, and by the conspirators in preparing for their enterprise. They had destroyed the locks of the doors of the apartment, so that the keys could not be turned; and they had taken away the bars with which the gates were secured, and had provided planks by way of bridges on which to cross the ditch which surrounded the monastery. At length, on the 20th February, 1437, all was prepared for carrying their treasonable purpose into execution, and Graham came from his hiding place in the neighbouring mountains, with a party of nearly three hundred men, and entered the gardens of the convent.

The king was preparing to retire for the night. He had passed the evening gaily with the nobles and ladies of his court, in reading romances, and in singing and music, or playing at chess and tables. The Earl of Athole and his son Sir Robert Stewart, who expected to succeed James *on the throne*, were among the last courtiers who retired.

At this time James remained standing before the fire, and conversing gaily with the queen and her ladies before he went to rest.

At this moment there was a noise and clashing heard, as of men in armour, and the torches in the garden cast up great flashes of light against the windows. The king then recollected his deadly enemy, Sir Robert Graham, and guessed that he was coming to murder him. He called to the ladies who were left in the chamber to keep the door as well as they could, in order to give him time to escape. He first tried to get out at the windows, but they were fast barred, and defied his strength. By help of the tongs, which were in the chimney, he raised, however, a plank of the flooring of the apartment, and let himself down into a narrow vault beneath. This vault had formerly an opening into the court of the convent, by which he might have made his escape. But all things turned against the unfortunate James; for, only three days before, he had caused the opening to be built up.

While the king was in this place of concealment, the conspirators were seeking him from chamber to chamber throughout the convent, and at length came to the room where the ladies were. The queen and her women endeavoured, as well as they might, to keep the door shut, and one of them, Catherine Douglas, is said to have boldly thrust her own arm across the door, instead of the bar, which had been taken away. But the brave lady's arm was soon broken, and the traitors rushed into the room with swords and daggers drawn.

They accordingly commenced a minute search, but without any success; so they left the apartment, and sought elsewhere about the monastery. In the meanwhile the king turned impatient, and desired the ladies to bring sheets and draw him up out of the inconvenient lurking place. In the attempt Elizabeth Douglas fell down beside the king, and at this unlucky moment, the conspirators returned. One of them now recollected that there was such a vault, and that they had not searched it. *And when they tore up the plank, and saw the king*

and the lady beneath in the vault, one of them called, with savage merriment, to his followers, "Sirs, I have found the bride for whom we have sought and carolled all night." Two brothers of the name of Hall, descended into the vault, with daggers drawn, to despatch the unfortunate king. But James, who was an active and strong man, threw them both down beneath his feet, and struggled to wrest the dagger from one or other of them, in which attempt his hands were severely cut and mangled. Then Sir Robert Graham himself sprung down on the king, who, finding no further defence possible, asked him for mercy, and for leisure to confess his sins to a priest. But Graham replied fiercely, "Thou never hadst mercy on those of thine own blood, nor on any one else, therefore thou shalt find no mercy here; and as for a confessor, thou shalt have none but this sword." So speaking, he thrust the sword through the king's body.

King James had many popular qualities. His face was handsome, and his person strong and active. His mind was well cultivated with ornamental and elegant accomplishments, as well as stored with useful information. He understood music and poetry, and wrote verses, both serious and comic. Two of his compositions are still preserved, and read with interest and entertainment by those who understand the ancient language in which they are written. One of these is called "The King's Quhair," that is, the King's Book. It is a love poem, composed when he was prisoner in England, and addressed to the Princess Joan of Somerset, whom he afterwards married. The other is a comic poem, called "Christ's Kirk on the Green," in which the author gives an account of a merry-making of the country people, held for the purpose of sport, where they danced, revelled, drank, and finally quarrelled and fought. There is much humour shown in this piece, though one would think the subject a strange one for a king to write upon.

CHAPTER XI.

ACCESSION OF JAMES II.—TREACHERY OF LIVINGSTONE AND CRICHTON—MURDER OF MACLELLAN—DOUGLAS SLAIN BY THE KING—POWER OF THE HOUSE OF DOUGLAS DESTROYED.—1449-1460.

WHEN James I. was murdered, his son and heir, James II., was only six years old; so that Scotland was once more plunged into all the discord and confusion of a regency, which were sure to reach their height in a country where even the undisputed sway of a sovereign of mature age was not held in due respect, and was often disturbed by treason and rebellion.

The affairs of the kingdom, during the minority of James II., were chiefly managed by two statesmen, who seem to have been men of considerable personal talent, but very little principle or integrity. Sir Alexander Livingstone was guardian of the king's person; Sir William Crichton was chancellor of the kingdom. They debated betwixt themselves the degree of authority attached to their respective offices, and at once engaged in quarrels with each other, and with one who was more powerful than either of them—the great Earl of Douglas.

The Douglasses were not only powerful from the extent of lands and territories, but also from the possession of great military talents, which seemed to pass from father to son, and occasioned a proverb, still remembered in Scotland.—

“So many, so good, as of the Douglasses have been,
Of one surname in Scotland never yet were seen.”

Unfortunately, their power, courage, and military skill, were attended with arrogance and ambition, and the Douglasses seemed to have claimed to themselves the rank and authority of sovereign princes, independent of the laws of the country, and of the allegiance due to the monarch; and as Archibald, the Earl of Douglas of the *time*, rendered but an imperfect allegiance even to the

severe rule of James I., it might be imagined that his power could not be easily restrained by such men as Crichton and Livingstone.

But when this powerful nobleman died, in 1439, and was succeeded by his son William, a youth of only sixteen years old, the wily Crichton began to spy an occasion to crush the Douglasses, as he hoped, for ever, by the destruction of the youthful earl and his brother, and for abating, by this cruel and unmerited punishment, the power and pride of this great family. Crichton proposed to Livingstone to join him in this meditated treachery; and, though enemies to each other, the guardian of the king and the chancellor of the kingdom united in the vile project of cutting off two boys, whose age alone showed their ignorance of the guilt charged upon them. For this purpose flattery and fair words were used to induce the young earl and his brother David, with some of their nearest friends, to come to court, where it was pretended that they would be suitable companions and intimates for the young king.

The Chancellor Crichton received the Earl of Douglas and his brother on their journey, at his own castle of Crichton, with the utmost appearance of hospitality and kindness. After remaining a day or two at this place, the two brothers were inveigled to Edinburgh Castle, and introduced to the young king, who, not knowing the further purpose of the guardians, received them with affability, and seemed delighted with the prospect of enjoying their society.

On a sudden the scene began to change. At an entertainment which was served up to the earl and his brother, the head of a black bull was placed on the table. The Douglasses knew this, according to a custom which prevailed in Scotland, to be the sign of death, and leaped from the table in great dismay. But they were siezed by armed men who entered the apartment. The young king wept, and implored Livingstone and Crichton to show mercy to the young noblemen, but in vain. These cruel men only reproved him for weeping at the death of those *whom they called his enemies*. The brethren were led

out to the court of the castle, and beheaded without delay.

James the Second, in the meanwhile, came to man's estate, and entered on the management of public affairs. He was a handsome man, but his countenance was marked on one side with a broad red spot, which gained him the surname of James of the Fiery Face.

In the early part of his reign, he conferred on the then Earl of Douglas the important post of lieutenant-general of Scotland. But that ambitious nobleman was soon disposed to extend his authority to independent power, and the king found it necessary to take from him the dangerous office with which he had intrusted him. Douglas retired to his own castle, meditating revenge; whilst the king, on the other hand, looked around him for some fitting opportunity of diminishing the power of so formidable a rival.

Douglas was not slow in showing his contempt of the king's authority, and his power of acting for himself. Incensed by the conduct of a gentleman of the name of Maclellan, in whom the king took an interest, he kept him a prisoner in his castle of Thrieve, in defiance of royal orders; and on Sir Patrick Gray, uncle of Maclellan, presenting himself with a letter from the king at the castle of Thrieve, Douglas received him, just as he had risen from dinner, with much apparent civility, but declined to speak with him on the occasion of his coming, until he had dined, saying, "It was ill talking between a full man and a fasting one." But this courtesy was only a pretence to gain time for committing a very cruel and lawless action. Guessing that Sir Patrick Gray's visit respected Maclellan, he resolved to hasten his execution before opening the king's letter. Thus, while he was feasting Sir Patrick, with every appearance of hospitality, he caused his unhappy kinsman to be led out, and beheaded in the courtyard of the castle.

When dinner was over, Gray presented the king's letter, which Douglas received and read over with every testimony of profound respect. He then thanked Sir Patrick for the trouble he had taken in bringing him so

gracious a letter from his sovereign, especially considering he was not at present on good terms with his majesty. "And," he added, "the king's demand shall instantly be granted, the rather for your sake." The earl then took Sir Patrick by the hand, and led him to the castle-yard, where the body of Maclellan was still lying.

"Sir Patrick," said he, as his servants removed the bloody cloth which covered the body, "you have come a little too late. There lies your sister's son—but he wants the head. The body is, however, at your service."

"My lord," said Gray, suppressing his indignation, "if you have taken his head, you may dispose of his body as you will."

But, when he had mounted his horse, which he instantly called for, his resentment broke out, in spite of the dangerous situation in which he was placed :—

"My lord," said he, "if I live, you shall bitterly pay for this day's work."

So saying, he turned his horse and galloped off.

"To horse, and chase him !" said Douglas; and if Gray had not been well mounted, he would, in all probability, have shared the fate of his nephew. He was closely pursued till near Edinburgh, a space of fifty or sixty miles.

Besides daring and open instances of contempt of the king's authority, Douglas entered into such alliances as plainly showed his determination to destroy entirely the royal government. He formed a league with the Earl of Crawford, called Earl Beardie, and sometimes, from the ferocity of his temper, the Tiger-Earl, who had great power in the counties of Angus, Perth, and Kincardine, and with the Earl of Ross, who possessed extensive and almost royal authority in the north of Scotland, by which these three powerful earls agreed that they should take each other's part in every quarrel, and against every man, the king himself not excepted.

James then plainly saw that some strong measures must be taken, yet it was not easy to determine what was to be done. The league between the three earls enabled them, if open war was attempted, to assemble a *force superior* to that of the crown. The king, therefore,

dissembled his resentment, and, under pretext of desiring an amicable conference and reconciliation, requested Douglas to come to the royal court at Stirling. The haughty earl hesitated not to accept of this invitation, but before he actually did so, he demanded and obtained a protection, or safe conduct, under the great seal, pledging the king's promise that he should be permitted to come to the court and to return in safety. Douglas came to Stirling in the end of February, 1452, where he found the king lodged in the castle. The numerous followers of Douglas were quartered in the town, but the earl himself was admitted into the castle.

The king received Douglas kindly, and, after some amicable expostulation with him on his late conduct, all seemed friendship and cordiality betwixt them. By invitation of James, Douglas dined with him on the day following. Supper was presented at seven o'clock, and after it was over, the king having led Douglas into another apartment, where only some of the privy council and of his body guard were in attendance, he introduced the subject of the earl's bond with Ross and Crawford, and exhorted him to give up the engagement, as inconsistent with his allegiance and the quiet of the kingdom. Douglas declined to relinquish the treaty which he had formed. The king urged him more imperiously, and the earl returned a haughty and positive refusal, upbraiding the king, at the same time, with mal-administration of the public affairs. Then the king burst into a rage at his obstinacy, and exclaimed, "By heaven, my lord, if *you* will not break the league, *this* shall." So saying, he stabbed the earl with his dagger, first in the throat, and instantly after in the lower part of the body. Sir Patrick Gray, who had sworn revenge on Douglas for the execution of Maclellan, then struck the earl on the head with a battle-axe; and others of the king's retinue showed their zeal by stabbing the dying man with their knives and daggers. He expired without uttering a word, covered with twenty-six wounds.

There were in the town of Stirling four brethren of the murdered Douglas, who had come to wait on him

to court. Upon hearing that their elder brother had been slain, they immediately acknowledged James, the eldest of the four, as his successor in the earldom. They then hastened each to the county where he had interest, and, collecting their friends and vassals, they returned to Stirling to punish the king. But the strength of the castle defied all their efforts; and they dispersed themselves to assemble a still larger body of forces.

So many great barons were engaged in alliance with the house of Douglas, that it is said to have been a question in the king's mind, whether he should abide the conflict, or fly to France, and leave the throne to the earl. Acting upon the advice of the Archbishop of St. Andrews, he made private representations to several of the nobility, to whom his agents found access, showing them that the rebellion of the Douglasses would, if successful, render that family superior to all others in Scotland, and sink the rest of the peers into men of little consequence.

Douglas collected the whole strength which his family and allies could raise, amounting, it is said, to nearly forty thousand men. The king, on the other hand, having assembled all his available forces in Scotland, marched to meet Douglas at the head of an army somewhat superior in numbers to that of the earl, but inferior in military discipline. Thus everything seemed to render a combat inevitable, the issue of which must have shown whether James Stewart or James Douglas was to wear the crown of Scotland.

But the intrigues of the Archbishop of St. Andrews had made a powerful impression upon many of the nobles who acted with Douglas, and there was a party among his followers who obeyed him more from fear than affection. Others, seeing a certain degree of hesitation in the earl's resolution, and a want of decision in his actions, began to doubt whether he was a leader fit to conduct so perilous an enterprise. The consequence was that, having been deserted by the great bulk of his followers, he was obliged to fly, leaving James undisputed master of Scotland.

Relieved from the rivalry of the Douglas, James II.

governed Scotland firmly. The kingdom enjoyed considerable tranquillity during his reign; and his last Parliament was able to recommend to him the regular and firm execution of the laws, as to a prince who possessed the full means of discharging his kingly office, without resistance from evildoers or infringers of justice. This was in 1458. But only two years afterwards all these fair hopes were blighted, the king having been killed by the bursting of a canon at the siege of Roxburgh Castle.

CHAPTER XII.

REIGN OF JAMES III. — EXECUTION OF THE KING'S FAVOURITES—MURDER OF THE KING.—1460–1488.

THE minority of James III. was more prosperous than that of his father and grandfather. The affairs of state were guided by the experienced wisdom of Bishop Kennedy. Roxburgh was taken and destroyed. Berwick, during the dissensions of the civil wars of England, was surrendered to the Scots; and the dominions of the Islands of Orkney and Zetland, which had hitherto belonged to the kings of Norway, were acquired as the marriage portion of a Princess of Denmark and Norway, who was united in marriage to the King of Scotland.

These favourable circumstances were first interrupted by the death of Archbishop Kennedy; after which, one family, that of the Boyds, started into such a degree of temporary power as seemed to threaten the public tranquillity. The tutor of James III. was Gilbert Kennedy, a wise and grave man, who continued to regulate the studies of the king after the death of his brother the prelate, but who unadvisedly called in to his assistance Sir Alexander, the brother of Lord Boyd, as one who was younger and fitter than himself to teach James military exercises. By means of this appointment, Sir Alexander, his brother, Lord Boyd, and two of his sons, became so intimate with the king, that they resolved to take him

from under the management of Kennedy entirely. This they accomplished, and for a time they were the sole rulers of Scotland. The king, however, either resenting the use which the Boyds had made of his favour, or changing his opinion of them from other causes, suddenly deprived the whole family of their offices.

It was after the fall of the Boyds that the king came to administer the government in person, and that the defects of his character began to appear. He was timorous, and his cowardice made him suspicious of his nobility, and particularly of his two brothers. He was fond of money, and therefore did not use that generosity towards his powerful subjects which was necessary to secure their attachment; but, on the contrary, endeavoured to increase his private hoards of wealth by encroaching upon the rights both of clergy and laity, and thus made himself at once hated and contemptible. He was a lover of the fine arts, as they are called, of music and architecture. But he made architects and musicians his principal companions. Cochran, an architect; Rogers, a musician; Leonard, a smith; Hommel, a tailor; and Torphichen, a fencing-master, were his counsellors and companions. These habits of low society excited the hatred of the nobility, who began to make comparisons betwixt the king and his two brothers, the Dukes of Albany and Mar, greatly to the disadvantage of James.

Cochran rose into great power, and as every man's petition to the king came through his hands, and he expected and received bribes to give his countenance, he amassed so much wealth that he was able in his turn to bribe the king to confer on him the earldom of Mar, with the lands and revenues of the deceased prince who bore that title. All men were filled with indignation to see the inheritance of the son of the King of Scotland conferred upon a mean upstart.

In the year 1482, the disputes with England had come to a great height, and Edward IV. made preparations to invade Scotland, principally in the hope of recovering the town of Berwick. The Scottish Parliament assembled, *and unanimously* determined on war against Edward the

Robber, for so they termed the King of England. To support this violent language, James ordered the whole array of the kingdom to assemble at the Borough-Muir of Edinburgh, from whence they marched to Lauder, and encamped between the river Leader and the town, to the number of fifty thousand men. But the great barons, who had there assembled with their followers, were less disposed to advance against the English, than to correct the abuses of King James's administration.

Many of the nobility and barons held a secret council in the church of Lauder, where they enlarged upon the evils which Scotland sustained through the insolence and corruption of Cochran and his associates. While they were thus declaiming, Lord Gray requested their attention to a fable. "The mice," he said, "being much annoyed by the persecution of the cat, resolved that a bell should be hung about puss's neck to give notice when she was coming. But though the measure was agreed to in full council, it could not be carried into effect, because no mouse had courage enough to undertake to tie the bell to the neck of the formidable enemy."

Archibald, Earl of Angus, a man of gigantic strength and intrepid courage, started up when Gray had done speaking. "I am he," he said, "who will bell the cat;" from which expression he was distinguished by the name of Bell-the-Cat to his dying day.

While thus engaged, a loud authoritative knocking was heard at the door of the church. This announced the arrival of Cochran. He was attired in a riding suit of black velvet, and had round his neck a fine chain of gold, whilst a bugle-horn, tipped and mounted with gold, hung down by his side. In this gallant guise, having learned there was some council holding among the nobility, he came to see what they were doing, and it was with this purpose that he knocked furiously at the door of the church. Sir Robert Douglas of Lochleven, who had the charge of watching the door, demanded who was there. When Cochran answered, "The Earl of Mar," the nobles greatly rejoiced at hearing he was come, to deliver himself, as it were, into their hands.

As Cochran entered the church, Angus, to make good his promise to bell the cat, met him, and rudely pulled the gold chain from his neck, saying, "A halter would better become him." Sir Robert Douglas, at the same time, snatched away his bugle-horn, saying, "Thou hast been a hunter of mischief too long."

"Is this jest or earnest, my lords?" said Cochran, more astonished than alarmed at this rude reception."

"It is sad earnest," said they, "and that thou and thy accomplices shall feel; for you have abused the king's favour towards you, and now you shall have your reward according to your deserts."

It does not appear that Cochran offered any resistance. A part of the nobility went next to the king's pavilion, and, while some engaged him in conversation, others seized upon Leonard, Hommel, Torphichen, and the rest, with Preston, one of the only two gentlemen amongst King James's minions, and hastily condemned them to instant death, as having misled the king and misgoverned the kingdom. They hanged Cochran over the centre of the bridge of Lauder in the middle of his companions, who were suspended on each side of him. When the execution was finished, the lords returned to Edinburgh, where they resolved that the king should remain in the castle, under a gentle and respectful degree of restraint.

The king, naturally timid, managed to escape to Stirling. He fortified the castle, commanded by Shaw of Fintrie, to whom he committed the custody of the prince, his son and heir-apparent, charging the governor neither to let any one enter the castle, nor permit any one to leave it, as he loved his honour and his life. Especially he commanded him to let no one have access to his son. He then cast about for the means of defence in case of necessity.

Meanwhile, Angus, Home, Bothwell, and others of the insurgent nobility, determined, if possible, to get into their hands the person of the prince, resolving that, notwithstanding his being a child, they would avail themselves of his authority to oppose that of his father. *Accordingly, they bribed, with a large sum of money,*

Shaw, the governor of Stirling Castle, to deliver the prince (afterwards James IV.) into their keeping. When they had thus obtained possession of Prince James's person, they collected their army, and published proclamations in his name, intimating that King James III. was bringing Englishmen into the country to assist in overturning its liberties—that he had sold the frontiers of Scotland to the Earl of Northumberland, and to the governor of Berwick, and declaring that they were united to dethrone a king whose intensions were so unkingly, and to place his son in his stead. These allegations were false; but the king was so unpopular that they were listened to and believed.

James, in the meantime, arrived before Stirling at the head of a considerable army, and passing to the gate of the castle, demanded entrance. But the governor refused to admit him. The king then eagerly asked for his son; to which the treacherous governor replied, that the lords had taken the prince from him against his will. Then the poor man saw that he was deceived, and said in wrath, "False villain, thou hast betrayed me; but if I live, thou shalt be rewarded according to thy deserts!" If the king had not been thus treacherously deprived of the power of retiring into Stirling Castle, he might, by means of that fortress, have avoided a battle until more forces had come up to his assistance; and, in that case, might have overpowered the rebel lords, as his father did the Douglasses before Abercorn. Yet having with him an army of nearly thirty thousand men, he moved boldly towards the insurgents.

When the king beheld his own ensign unfurled against him, and knew that his son was in the hostile ranks, his heart, never very courageous, began altogether to fail him; for he remembered the prophecy, that he was to fall by his nearest of kin, and also what the astrologer had told him of the Scottish lion which was to be strangled by his own whelps. These idle fears so preyed on James's mind, that his alarm became visible to those around him, who conjured him to retire to a place of safety. But at that moment the battle began.

Surrounded by sights and sounds to which he was so little accustomed, James lost his remaining presence of mind, and turning his back, fled towards Stirling. But he was unable to manage the grey horse, which, taking the bit in his teeth, ran full gallop downhill into a little hamlet, where was a mill, called Beaton's mill. A woman had come out to draw water at the mill-dam, but terrified at seeing a man in complete armour coming down towards her at full speed, she left her pitcher, and fled back into the mill. The sight of the pitcher frightened the king's horse, so that he swerved as he was about to leap the brook, and James, losing his seat, fell to the ground, where, being heavily armed and sorely bruised, he remained motionless. The people came out, took him into the mill, and laid him on a bed. Some time afterwards he recovered his senses; but feeling himself much hurt and very weak, he demanded the assistance of a priest. The miller's wife asked who he was, and he imprudently replied, "I was your king this morning." With equal imprudence the poor woman ran to the door, and called with loud exclamations for a priest to confess the king. "I am a priest," said an unknown person, who had just come up; "lead me to the king." When the stranger was brought into the presence of the unhappy monarch, he kneeled with apparent humility, and asked him, "Whether he was mortally wounded?" James replied, that his hurts were not mortal, if they were carefully looked to; but that, in the meantime, he desired to be confessed, and receive pardon of his sins from a priest, according to the fashion of the Catholic church. "This shall presently give thee pardon!" answered the assassin; and, drawing a poinard, he stabbed him four or five times to the very heart. He fell, like most of his family, in the flower of his age, being only thirty-six years old.

CHAPTER XIII.

REIGN OF JAMES IV.—MARRIAGE OF JAMES WITH THE
KING OF ENGLAND'S DAUGHTER—BATTLE OF FLODDEN.
—1488-1513.

JAMES IV. was not long upon the throne ere his own reflections, and the remonstrances of some of the clergy, made him sensible that his accompanying the rebel lords against his father in the field of Sauchie was a very sinful action. He did not consider his own youth, nor the enticements of the lords, who had obtained possession of his person, as any sufficient excuse for having been, in some degree, accessory to his father's death, by appearing in arms against him. He deeply repented the crime, and endeavoured to atone for it by various acts of penance. Amongst other tokens of repentance, he caused to be made an iron belt, or girdle, which he wore constantly under his clothes; and every year of his life he added another link of an ounce or two to the weight of it, as if he desired that his penance should not be relaxed, but rather should increase during all the days of his life.

It was, perhaps, in consequence of these feelings of remorse that the king not only forgave that part of the nobility which had appeared on his father's side, but did all in his power to conciliate their affections, without losing those of the other party. The wealth of his father enabled him to be liberal to the nobles on both sides, and at the same time to maintain a more splendid appearance in his court and royal state than had been practised by any of his predecessors. He was himself expert in all feats of exercise and arms, and encouraged the use of them, and the practice of tilts and tournaments in his presence, wherein he often took part. It was his frequent custom to make proclamation throughout his kingdom, that all lords and gentlemen who might desire to win honour, should come to Edinburgh or Stirling, and exercise themselves in tilting with the lance, fighting with the battle-axe, the two-handed sword, shooting with

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the longbow, or any other warlike contention. He who did best in these encounters had his adversary's weapon delivered up to him; and the best tilter with the spear received from the king a lance with a head of pure gold.

Besides being fond of martial exercises, James encouraged the arts, and prosecuted science. He studied medicine and surgery, and appears to have been something of a chemist. He was free from the vice of avarice, which was his father's failing. Neither would he endure flatterers, cowards, or sycophants about his person, but ruled by the counsel of the most eminent nobles, and thus won the hearts of all men. He often went disguised among the common people, and asked them questions about the king and his measures, and thus learned the opinion which was entertained of him by his subjects.

He was also active in the discharge of his royal duties. His authority, which was greater than that of any king who had reigned since the time of James I., was employed for the administration of justice, and the protection of every rank of his subjects, so that he was revered as well as beloved by all classes of his people. Scotland obtained, under his administration, a greater share of prosperity than she had yet enjoyed. She possessed some share of foreign trade, and the success of Sir Andrew Wood, together with the king's exertions in building vessels, made the country respected, as having a considerable naval power.

These advantages were greatly increased by the unusually long continuance of the peace with England. Henry VII. being a wise and sagacious monarch, was desirous to repair, by a long interval of repose and quiet, the great damage which the country had sustained by the wars of York and Lancaster. He was the more disposed to peace with Scotland, that his own title to the throne of England was keenly disputed, and exposed him more than once to the risk of invasion and insurrection. He agreed to give his daughter Margaret, a beautiful and accomplished princess, to James IV. in marriage. He offered to endow her *with an ample fortune*, and on that alliance was to be

founded a close league of friendship between England and Scotland, the kings obliging themselves to assist each other against all the rest of the world. Unfortunately for both countries, but particularly so for Scotland, this peace designed to be perpetual, did not last above ten years. Yet the good policy of Henry VII. bore fruit after a hundred years had passed away; and in consequence of the marriage of James IV. and the Princess Margaret, an end was put to all future national wars, by their great grandson, James VI. of Scotland and I. of England, becoming king of the whole island of Great Britain.

During the season of tranquillity which followed the marriage of James and Margaret, the king, with his Parliament, enacted many good laws for the improvement of the country. He entertained a sincere wish to benefit his subjects, and entertained liberal views of the mode of accomplishing that object. But the unfortunate country of Scotland was destined never to remain any long time in a state of peace or improvement; and accordingly, towards the end of James's reign, events occurred which brought on a defeat still more calamitous than any which the kingdom had yet received.

While Henry VII., the father-in-law of James, continued to live, his wisdom made him very attentive to preserve the peace which had been established betwixt the two countries. But when this wise and cautious monarch died, he was succeeded by his son Henry VIII., a prince of a bold, haughty, and furious disposition, impatient of control or contradiction, and rather desirous of war than willing to make any concessions for the sake of peace. James IV. and he resembled each other perhaps too nearly in temper to admit of their continuing intimate friends.

The military disposition of Henry chiefly directed him to an enterprise against France; and the King of France, on his part, desired much to renew the old alliance with Scotland, in order that the apprehension of an invasion from the *Scottish* frontiers might induce Henry to aban-

don his scheme of attacking France. Gold was freely distributed amongst the counsellors and favourites of the Scottish king. This liberality showed to great advantage, when compared with the very opposite conduct of the King of England, who delayed even to pay a legacy, which had been left by Henry his father to his sister the Queen of Scotland. Other circumstances of a different kind tended to create disagreements between England and Scotland.

James, contrary to the advice of his wisest counsellors, determined to invade England with a royal army. The Parliament were unwilling to go into the king's measures. The tranquillity of the country, ever since the peace with England, was recollected, and as the impolitic claim of the supremacy seemed to be abandoned, little remained to stir up the old animosity between the kingdoms. The king, however, was personally so much liked, that he obtained the consent of the Parliament to this fatal and unjust war; and orders were given to assemble all the array of the kingdom of Scotland upon the Borough-Muir of Edinburgh, a wide common, in the midst of which the royal standard was displayed from a large stone, or fragment of rock, called the Hare-stone.

Having marched into England, the Scottish army had fixed their camp upon a hill called Flodden. This eminence slopes steeply towards the plain, and there is an extended piece of level ground on the top, where the Scots might have drawn up their army, and awaited at great advantage the attack of the English. Surrey liked the idea of venturing an assault on that position so little, that he resolved to try whether he could not prevail on the king to abandon it. He sent a herald to invite James to come down from the height, and join battle in the open plain below.

James refused to receive the messenger into his presence, and returned for answer that it was not such as it became an earl to send to a king. Surrey, distressed for provisions, was obliged to resort to another mode of bringing the Scots to action. He moved northward, sweeping round the hill of Flodden, keeping out of the reach of the Scottish artillery, until, crossing the Till, he placed

himself, with his army, betwixt James and his whole kingdom. The king suffered him to make this flank movement without interruption, though it must have afforded repeated and advantageous opportunities for attack. But when he saw the English army interposed betwixt him and his dominions, he became alarmed lest he should be cut off from Scotland. Stimulated by this apprehension, the king resolved to give signal for the fatal battle.

With this view the Scots set fire to their huts, and the other refuse and litter of their camp. The smoke spread along the side of the hill, and under its cover the army of King James descended the eminence, which is much less steep on the northern than the southern side, while the English advanced to meet them, both concealed from each other by the clouds of smoke.

The Scots descended in four strong columns, all marching parallel to each other, having a reserve of the Lothian men commanded by Earl Bothwell. The English were also divided into four bodies, with a reserve of cavalry led by Dacre.

The battle commenced at four in the afternoon. The first which encountered was the left wing of the Scots, commanded by the Earl of Huntly and Lord Home, which overpowered and threw into disorder the right wing of the English, under Sir Edmund Howard. Upon the extreme right of James's army, a division of Highlanders, consisting of the clans MacKenzie, MacLean, and others, commanded by the Earls of Lennox and Argyll, were so insufferably annoyed by the volleys of the English arrows, that they broke their ranks, and rushed tumultuously down hill, and being attacked at once in flank and rear by Sir Edward Stanley, with the men of Cheshire and Lancashire, were routed with great slaughter.

The division commanded by James in person consisted of the choicest of his nobles and gentry, whose armour was so good that the arrows made but slight impression upon them. They were all on foot—the king himself had parted with his horse. They engaged the Earl of Surrey, who opposed to them the division which he per-

sonally commanded. The Scots attacked with the greatest fury, and for a time had the best of it. Surrey's squadrons were disordered, his standard in great danger. Bothwell and the Scottish reserve were advancing, and the English seemed in some risk of losing the battle. But Stanley, who had defeated the Highlanders, came up on one flank of the king's division. The Scots showed the most undaunted courage. Uniting themselves with the reserve under Bothwell, they formed into a circle, with their spears extended on every side, and fought obstinately. Bows being now useless, the English advanced on all sides with their bills, a huge weapon which made ghastly wounds. But they could not force the Scots either to break or retire, although the carnage among them was dreadful. James himself died amid his warlike peers and loyal gentry. He was twice wounded with arrows, and at length despatched with a bill. Night fell without the battle being absolutely decided, for the Scottish centre kept their ground. But during the night the remainder of the Scottish army drew off in silent despair from the bloody field, on which they left their king, and their choicest nobles and gentlemen.

This great and decisive victory was gained by the Earl of Surrey on 9th September, 1513. The victors had about five thousand men slain, the Scots twice that number at least. But the loss lay not so much in the number of the slain as in their rank and quality. The English lost very few men of distinction. The Scots left on the field the king, two bishops, two mitred abbots, twelve earls, thirteen lords, and five eldest sons of peers. The number of gentlemen slain was beyond calculation;—there is scarcely a family of name in Scottish history who did not lose a relative there.

CHAPTER XIV.

RESULTS OF FLODDEN—THE QUEEN BECOMING REGENT—
HER MARRIAGE—ALBANY REGENT—THE KING OBTAINS
HIS FREEDOM.—1513-1524.

THE defeat at Flodden threw all Scotland into mourning and despair. The inhabitants of the smaller towns on the Border, as Selkirk, Hawick, Jedburgh, and others, were almost entirely cut off, and their songs and traditions preserve to this day the recollection of their sufferings and losses.

Not only a large proportion of the nobility, who had by right of birth the important task of distributing justice and maintaining order in their domains, but also the magistrates of the burghs, who, in general, had remained with the army, had fallen on the field, so that the country seemed to be left open to invasion and conquest, such as had taken place after the loss of the battles of Dunbar and Halidon-Hill.

The Earl of Surrey did not, however, make any endeavour to invade Scotland, or to take any advantage of the great victory he had obtained, by attempting the conquest of that country. Experience had taught the English that though it might be easy for them to overrun their northern neighbours, to ravage provinces, and to take castles and cities, yet that the obstinate valour of the Scots, and their love of independence, had always, in the long run, found means of expelling the invaders. With great moderation and wisdom, Henry, or his ministers, therefore, resolved rather to conciliate the friendship of the Scots by foregoing the immediate advantages which the victory of Flodden afforded them, than to commence another invasion, which, however distressing to Scotland, was likely, as in the Bruce and Baliol wars, to terminate in the English also sustaining great loss, and ultimately being again driven out of the kingdom. The English councillors remembered that Margaret, the widow of *James*, was the sister of the King of England; that she

must become regent of the kingdom, and would naturally be a friend to her native country. They knew that the late war had been undertaken by the King of Scotland against the wish of his people; and, with noble as well as wise policy, they endeavoured rather to render Scotland once more a friendly power, than by invasion and violence, to convert her into an irreconcilable enemy. The incursions which followed the battle of Flodden extended only to the Borders; no great attempt against Scotland was made, or apparently meditated.

Margaret, the queen dowager, became Regent of Scotland and guardian of the young king, James V., who ascended the throne when a child of not two years old. But the authority of Margaret was greatly diminished, and her character injured by a hasty and imprudent marriage which she formed with Douglas, Earl of Angus, the grandson of old Bell-the-Cat.

The arrogance of Douglas excited the hostility of the nobles to Margaret as well as to himself, and they resolved to invite the Duke of Albany to assume the regency. This nobleman, who was a near relative of the king, and the inheritor of great estates in France, readily responded to the invitation; and, resigning the peace and quiet of his French home, at least for a time, undertook the direction of Scottish affairs during one of the most troublous periods in the history of our country. Albany possessed few of the qualifications indispensable to his position, and he was, ere long, fain to return to his French home, leaving the unruly Scotch to prosecute their domestic feuds and hereditary quarrels. Queen Margaret and her husband, who were forced to take refuge in the court of the King of England on the accession to power of Albany, now returned to Scotland; but, quarrelling shortly after, Douglas was divorced, and Margaret took for her third husband a young man without position, power, or influence. This step so lowered her in the eyes of the nation, that she at once ceased to exercise queenly influence in the councils of the people; and though claiming the homage due to the mother of the king, she received but scant respect *from those on whom she once so haughtily looked down.*

Albany once more forsook the comforts of his paternal estates for the troubles of Scotland; but Douglas, now again completely in the ascendant, and having no rival in power, compelled him speedily to return.

While Scotland was thus a mere plaything in the hands of rival factions, and her people were suffering the pangs of misery and want, the young king was little better than a prisoner in the hands of the Douglasses, who issued decrees, conferred dignities and honours, in his name, with hardly the semblance of regard to his wishes or inclinations.

The king, who was now fourteen years old, became impatient of the restraint in which Angus detained him, and desirous to free himself from his tutelage. He prevailed on his mother, Queen Margaret, to yield up to him the castle of Stirling, which was her jointure-house, and secretly to put it into the hands of a governor whom he could trust. This was done with much caution. Thus prepared with a place of refuge, James watched with anxiety an opportunity of flying to it; and he conducted himself with such apparent confidence towards Angus, that the Douglasses were lulled into security, and concluded that the king was reconciled to his state of bondage, and had despaired of making his escape.

James was then residing at Falkland. The Earl of Angus at this period left the court for Lothian, where he had some urgent business; Archibald Douglas of Kilspindie went to Dundee, to visit a lady to whom he was attached; and George Douglas had gone to St. Andrews, to extort some farther advantages from Chancellor Beaton, who was now archbishop of that see, and primate of Scotland. There was thus none of the Douglasses left about the king's person, except Parkhead, with his guard of one hundred men, in whose vigilance the others confided.

The king thought the time favourable for his escape. To lay all suspicion asleep, he pretended he was to rise next morning at an early hour, for the purpose of hunting the stag. Douglas of Parkhead, suspecting nothing, retired to bed after placing his watch. But the king

had already made his arrangements with a trusty page, named John Hart: "Jockie," said he, "dost thou love me?"

"Better than myself," answered the domestic.

"And will you risk anything for me?"

"My life, with pleasure," said John Hart.

Their plans having been now ready for execution, the king dressed himself in the attire of a groom, and went with Hart to the stable, as if for the purpose of getting the horses ready for the next day's hunt. The guards, deceived by their appearance, gave them no interruption. At the stables three good horses were saddled and in readiness, under charge of a yeoman, or groom, whom the king had intrusted with his design.

James mounted with his two servants, and galloped, during the whole night, as eager as a bird just escaped from the cage. At daylight he reached the bridge of Stirling, which was the only mode of passing the river Forth, except by boats. It was defended by gates, which the king, after passing through, ordered to be closed, and directed the passage to be watched.

In the morning there was great alarm at Falkland. Sir George Douglas had returned thither, on the night of the king's departure, about eleven o'clock. On his arrival, he enquired after the king, and was answered by the porter as well as the watchmen upon guard, that he was sleeping in his chamber, as he intended to hunt early in the morning. Sir George therefore retired to rest in full security. But the next morning he learned different tidings. One Peter Carmichael, bailie of Abernethy, knocked at the door of his chamber, and asked him if he knew "what the king was doing that morning?"

"He is in his chamber asleep," said Sir George.

"You are mistaken," answered Carmichael; "he passed the bridge of Stirling this last night."

On hearing this, Douglas started up in haste, went to the king's chamber, and knocked for admittance. When no answer was returned, he caused the door to be forced, and when he found the apartment empty, he cried, "Treason! —the king is gone, and none knows whither." Then he

sent post to his brother, the Earl of Angus, and despatched messengers in every direction, to seek the king, and to assemble the Douglasses.

When the truth became known, the adherents of Angus rode in a body to Stirling; but the king was so far from desiring to receive them, that he threatened, by sound of trumpet, to declare any of the name of Douglas a traitor who should approach within twelve miles of his person, or who should presume to meddle with the administration of government. A sentence of forfeiture was passed against the Earl of Angus, and he was driven into exile, with all his friends and kinsmen.

CHAPTER XV.

SUBJUGATION OF BORDER CHIEFS — ESTABLISHMENT OF COLLEGE OF JUSTICE — CHARACTER OF JAMES V.— 1528-1540.

FREED from the stern control of the Douglas family, James V. now began to exercise the government in person, and displayed most of the qualities of a wise and good prince. He was handsome in person, and resembled his father in his fondness for military exercises, and the spirit of chivalrous honour which James IV. loved to display. He also inherited his father's love of justice, and his desire to establish and enforce wise and equal laws, which should protect the weak against the oppression of the great. He was a well-educated and accomplished man; and like his ancestor, James I., was a poet and musician.

His first care was to bring the Borders of Scotland to some degree of order. These were inhabited by tribes of men, forming each a different clan, and obeying no orders, save those which were given by their chiefs. These chiefs were supposed to represent the first founder of the name or family. The attachment of the clansmen to the chief

was very great: indeed, they paid respect to no one else. In this the Borderers agreed with the Highlanders, as also in their love of plunder, and neglect of the general laws of the country. But the Border men wore no tartan dress, and served almost always on horseback, whereas the Highlanders acted always on foot. They were very brave in battle, but in time of peace were a pest to their neighbours. As their insolence had risen to a high pitch after the field of Flodden had thrown the country into confusion, James V. resolved to take very severe measures against them.

He assembled an army, in which warlike purposes were united with those of silvan sport; for he ordered all the gentlemen in the wild districts which he intended to visit, to bring in their best dogs, as if his only purpose had been to hunt the deer in those desolate regions. This was intended to prevent the Borderers from taking the alarm, in which case they would have retreated into their mountains and fastnesses, from whence it would have been difficult to dislodge them.

These men had indeed no distinct idea of the offences which they had committed, and consequently no apprehension of the king's displeasure against them. The laws had been so long silent in that remote and disorderly country, that the outrages which were practised by the strong against the weak, seemed to the perpetrators the natural course of society, and to present nothing that was worthy of punishment.

Thus, as the king, in the beginning of his expedition, suddenly approached the castle of Piers Cockburn of Henderland, that baron was in the act of providing a great entertainment to welcome him, when James caused him to be suddenly seized and executed. Adam Scott of Tushielaw, called the King of the Border, met the same fate. But an event of greater importance was the fate of John Armstrong of Gilnockie, near Langholm.

This freebooting chief had risen to great consequence, and the whole neighbouring district of England paid him *black mail*, in consideration of which he forbore plundering them. He had a high idea of his own importance,

and seems to have been unconscious of having merited any severe usage at the king's hands. On the contrary, he came to meet his sovereign at a place about ten miles from Hawick, called Carlinrigg Chapel, richly dressed, and having with him twenty-four gentlemen, his constant retinue, as well attired as himself. The king, incensed to see a freebooter so gallantly equipped, commanded him instantly to be led to execution, saying, "What wants this knave, save a crown, to be as magnificent as a king?"

John Armstrong was led to execution, with all his men, and hanged without mercy. The people of the inland counties were glad to get rid of him; but on the borders he was both missed and mourned, as a brave warrior, and a stout man-at-arms against England.

James V., like his father James IV., had a custom of going about the country disguised as a private person, in order that he might hear complaints which might not otherwise reach his ears, and, perhaps, that he might enjoy amusements which he could not have partaken of in his avowed royal character.

The reign of James V. was not alone distinguished by his personal adventures and pastimes, but is honourably remembered on account of wise laws made for the government of his people, and for restraining the crimes and violence which were frequently practised among them; especially those of assassination, burning of houses, and driving of cattle, the usual means by which powerful chiefs avenged themselves on their feudal enemies.

For the decision of civil questions, James V. instituted what is called the College of Justice, being the Supreme Court of Scotland in civil affairs. It consisted of fourteen judges (half clergy, half laity), and a president, who heard and decided causes. A certain number of learned men, trained to understand the laws, were appointed to the task of pleading the causes of such as had lawsuits before these judges, who constituted what is popularly termed the Court of Session. These men were called advocates; and this was the first establishment of a body, regularly educated to the law, which has

ever since been regarded in Scotland as an honourable profession, and has produced many great men.

James V. used great diligence in improving his navy, and undertook, what was at the time rather a perilous task, to sail in person round Scotland, and cause an accurate survey to be made of the various coasts, bays, and islands, harbours, and roadsteads of his kingdom, many of which had been unknown to his predecessors, even by name.

This active and patriotic prince ordered the mineral wealth of Scotland to be also inquired into. He obtained miners from Germany, who extracted both silver and gold from the mines of Leadhills, in the upper part of Clydesdale. The gold was of fine quality, and found in quantity sufficient to supply metal for a very elegant gold coin, which, bearing on one side the head of James V. wearing a bonnet, has been thence called the Bonnet-piece.



LINLITHGOW PALACE.

Although James was a good economist, he did not neglect the cultivation of the fine arts. He rebuilt the

palace of Linlithgow which is on a most magnificent plan, and made additions to that of Stirling. He encouraged several excellent poets and learned men, and his usual course of life appears to have been joyous and happy. He was himself a poet of some skill, and he permitted great freedom to the rhymers of his time, in addressing verses to him, some of which conveyed severe censures of his government, and other satires on his foibles.

James also encouraged the sciences, but was deceived by a foreigner, who pretended to have knowledge of the art of making gold. This person, however, who was either crack-brained or an impostor, destroyed his own credit by the fabrication of a pair of wings, with which he proposed to fly from the top of Stirling Castle. He actually made the attempt, but as his pinions would not work easily, he fell down the precipice, and broke his thigh-bone.

As the kingdom of Scotland, except during a very short and indecisive war with England, remained at peace till near the end of James's reign, and as that monarch was a wise and active prince, it might have been hoped that he at least would have escaped the misfortunes which seemed to haunt the name of Stuart. But a great change, which took place at this period, led James V. into a predicament, as unhappy as attended any of his ancestors.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE REFORMATION — HENRY VIII. QUARRELS WITH THE POPE — QUARRELS WITH ENGLAND — DEATH OF THE KING.—1536-1542.

AFTER the death of Christ, the doctrine which he preached was planted in Rome by the Apostle Peter, as it is said, whom the Catholics, therefore, term the first bishop of Rome. In process of time, the bishops of Rome claimed an authority over all others in Christendom. As the *Christian religion* was more widely received, the emperors

and kings who embraced it thought to distinguish their piety by heaping benefits on the Church, and on the bishops of Rome in particular, who at length obtained great lands and demesnes as temporal princes; while, in their character of clergymen, they assumed the title of Pope, and the full and exclusive authority over all other clergymen in the Christian world. As the people of those times were extremely ignorant, any little knowledge which remained was to be found among the clergy, who had some leisure to study. In these circumstances the clergy naturally assumed an intellectual superiority to the laity; and the church, by degrees, acquired supreme direction in all matters of conscience. While the ignorance of the middle ages prevailed over Europe, clerical authority was universally admitted; but when, in process of time, knowledge became the common property of all ranks and classes, and much that was characteristic of the Catholic faith ceased to meet with a sympathetic response in the minds of many enlightened adherents, a diversity of opinion sprang up within her pale. The discontented assumed the functions of Reformers, believing that their mission was to restore the Church to what they considered its pristine simplicity and purity. The spirit of reform spread over all the leading kingdoms of Europe; and Henry VIII., King of England, to testify his zeal for his religion, and probably to dazzle the world with his learning, took up his pen in defence of the Catholic Church, and earned for himself the gratitude of the Pope, and the title of Defender of the Faith. But this reciprocity of friendly offices was not destined to be of long continuance.

Henry was married to Catherine, daughter of the King of Spain, and sister to the Emperor of Germany. She had been, in her youth, contracted to Henry's elder brother Arthur; but that prince dying, she became the wife of Henry. They had lived long together, and Catherine had borne a daughter, Mary, who was the natural heir-apparent of the English crown. But at length Henry VIII. fell in love with Ann Bullen, a maid of honour in the queen's retinue, and he became extremely *desirous to get rid of Queen Catherine, and marry this*

young lady. For this purpose he applied to the Pope for a divorce.

The Pope would have, probably, been willing enough to gratify Henry's desire; but Catherine was the sister of Charles V., who was at once Emperor of Germany and King of Spain, and one of the wisest, as well as the most powerful, princes in Christendom. The Pope, who depended much on Charles' assistance for checking the Reformation, dared not give him the great offence, which would have been occasioned by encouraging his sister's divorce. He therefore evaded giving a precise answer to the King of England. But this led to a danger which the Pope had not foreseen.

Henry VIII., believing that the Pope was trifling with him, resolved to shake off his authority entirely. For this purpose he denied the authority of the Pope in England, and declared that he himself was the only head of the English Church, and that the Bishop of Rome had nothing to do with him or his dominions. Many of the bishops and clergymen of the English Church adopted the reformed doctrines, and disowned the supreme rule, hitherto ascribed to the Pope.

Scotland at this time possessed several men of learning who had studied abroad, and had there learned and embraced the doctrines of the reformer Calvin. They brought with them, on their return, copies of the Scripture, and could give a full account of the controversy between the Protestants and the Roman Catholic Church. Many among the Scots, both of higher and lower rank, became converts to the new faith.

The ministers and counsellors of the king ventured to have recourse to violence, in order to counteract these results. Several persons were seized and condemned to the flames. The modesty and decency with which these men behaved on their trials, and the patience with which they underwent the tortures of a cruel death, protesting at the same time their belief in the doctrines for which they had been condemned to the stake, made the strongest impression on the beholders, and increased the confidence of those who had embraced the tenets of the Reformers.

In the meantime, Henry continued to press the King of Scotland to enter into common measures with him against the Catholic clergy. In order the more effectually to influence his royal nephew to join him in defying the Pope, and in plundering the church, he prevailed on James to meet him at York, where the two kings could discuss the matter fully and freely.

The King of Scotland was now brought to a puzzling alternative, being either obliged to comply with his uncle's wishes, and introduce the reformed religion into his dominions, or, by adhering to the Catholic faith, to run all the hazards of a war with England. James at length determined to disappoint his uncle; and after the haughty Henry had remained six days at York, in the expectation of meeting him, he excused himself by some frivolous apology. Henry was, as might have been expected, mortally offended, and prepared for war.

A fierce and ruinous war immediately commenced. Henry sent numerous forces to ravage the Scottish Border. James obtained success in the first considerable action, to his unutterable satisfaction; and prepared for more decisive hostility. He assembled the array of his kingdom, and marched from Edinburgh as far as Fala, on his way to the Border, when tidings arrived, 1st November, 1542, that the English general had withdrawn his forces within the English frontier. On this news, the Scottish nobles, who, with their vassals, had joined the royal standard, intimated to their sovereign, that though they had taken up arms to save the country from invasion, yet they considered the war with England as an impolitic measure, and only undertaken to gratify the clergy; and that, therefore, the English having retired, they were determined not to advance one foot into the enemy's country. One Border chieftain alone offered with his retinue to follow the king wherever he chose to lead. This was John Scott of Thirlstane, whom James rewarded with an addition to his paternal coat-of-arms, with a bunch of spears for the crest, and the motto "*Ready, aye Ready.*"

James, finding himself thus generally thwarted and *deserted by the nobility*, returned to Edinburgh, dis-

honoured before his people, and in the deepest dejection of mind.

To retaliate the inroads of the English, and wipe out the memory of Fala moss, the king resolved that an army of ten thousand men should invade England on the Western Border; and he imprudently sent with them his peculiar favourite, Oliver Sinclair, who shared with the priests the unpopularity of the English war, and was highly obnoxious to the nobility, as one of those who engrossed the royal favour to their prejudice.

The army had just entered English ground, at a place called Solway moss, when this Oliver Sinclair was raised upon the soldiers' shields to read to the army a commission, which, it was afterwards said, named Lord Maxwell commander of the expedition. But no one doubted at the time that Oliver Sinclair had himself been proclaimed commander-in-chief; and as he was generally disliked and despised, the army instantly fell into a state of extreme confusion. Four or five hundred English Borderers, commanded by Thomas Dacre and John Musgrave, perceived this fluctuation, and charged the numerous squadrons of the invading army. The Scots fled without even attempting to fight. Numbers of noblemen and gentlemen suffered themselves to be made prisoners, rather than face the displeasure of their disappointed sovereign.

The disgraceful news of the battle, or rather the rout of Solway, filled up the measure of the king's despair and desolation. He shut himself up in the palace of Falkland, and refused to listen to any consolation. A burning fever, the consequence of his grief and shame, seized on the unfortunate monarch. They brought him tidings that his wife had given birth to a daughter; but he only replied, "Is it so?" reflecting on the alliance which had placed the Stuart family on the throne; "then God's will be done. It came with a lass, and it will go with a lass." With these words, presaging the extinction of his house, he made a signal of adieu to his courtiers, spoke little more, but turned his face to the wall, and died of the most melancholy of all diseases, a broken heart. He was scarcely thirty-one years old.

CHAPTER XVII.

HENRY VIII. WISHING TO MARRY HIS SON TO MARY—
BATTLE OF PINKIE.—1542-1547.

THE evil fortunes of Mary Stuart, who succeeded her father in the crown of Scotland, commenced at her very birth, and could scarce be considered as ceasing during the whole period of her life. Of all the unhappy rulers of the line of Stuart she was the most uniformly unfortunate. She was born on 7th December, 1542, and, in a few days after, became, by her father's death, the infant queen of a distracted country.

Henry VIII. formed a plan of uniting the kingdoms of England and Scotland by a marriage betwixt the infant Queen of Scotland and his only son, Edward VI., then a child. But the impatient temper of the English monarch ruined his own scheme. He demanded the custody of the young Queen of Scotland till she should be of age to complete the marriage to be contracted by the present league, and he insisted that some of the strongest forts in the kingdom should be put into his hands. These proposals alarmed the national jealousy of the Scots, and the characteristic love of independence and liberty which we find the people have always displayed. The nation at large became persuaded that Henry VIII., under pretence of a union by marriage, nourished, like Edward I. in similar circumstances, the purpose of subduing the country.

Incensed by the opposition of Scotland to his plans, Henry sent an army and a fleet to punish the stubborn Scotch; and after much bloodshed on both sides, without any decisive advantage to either, peace was concluded in June, 1546.

Shortly after, King Henry died. But his impatient and angry spirit continued to influence the councils of the nation under the Lord Protector Somerset, who resolved to take the same violent measures to compel the Scots to *give their* young queen in marriage to Edward VI. of

which Henry had set an example. This nobleman having invaded Scotland with a large army, was met at Pinkie, near Musselburgh, by the Earl of Arran; but owing to the divisions in the Scottish ranks, the invaders gained a signal victory on the 10th September, 1547.

It seemed to be decreed in those unhappy national wars, that the English should often be able to win great victories over the Scots, but that they should never derive any permanent advantage from their successes. The battle of Pinkie, far from paving the way to a marriage between Queen Mary and Edward VI., which was the object of Somerset's expedition, irritated and alarmed the Scots to such a degree, that they resolved to prevent the possibility of such a union, by marrying their young mistress to the Dauphin of France, and sending her to be bred up at the French court.

Edward VI. succeeded to his father Henry. He adopted the Protestant faith, and completed the Reformation which his father began. But he died early, and was succeeded by his sister Mary. This Mary endeavoured to re-establish the Catholic religion, and enforced the laws against heresy with the utmost rigour. She died, however, after a short and unhappy reign, and her sister Elizabeth ascended the throne. The Catholics objected to Elizabeth's title to the crown. Elizabeth was Henry's daughter by his second wife, Anne Bullen. Now, as the Pope had never consented either to the divorce of Queen Catherine, or to the marriage of Ann Bullen, the Catholics urged that Elizabeth must be considered as illegitimate, and as having, therefore, no lawful right to succeed to the throne, which, as Henry VIII. had no other child, must, they contended, descend upon Queen Mary of Scotland, as the granddaughter of Margaret, Henry's sister, wife of James IV. of Scotland, and the next lawful heir, according to their argument, to her deceased grand-uncle.

The court of France, not considering that the English themselves were to be held the best judges of the title of their own queen, resolved, in an evil hour, to put forward *this claim of the Scottish queen to the English crown.*

Money was coined, and plate wrought, in which Mary, with her husband Francis the Dauphin, assumed the style, title, and armorial bearings of England, as well as Scotland, and thus laid the first foundation for that deadly hatred between Elizabeth and Mary, which led to such fatal consequences.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND—THE SIEGE OF LEITH—
MARY A WIDOW.—1547–1560.

AMONG the converts to the Protestant faith was a natural son of the late King James V., who, being designed for the church, was at this time called Lord James Stewart, the Prior of St. Andrews, but was afterwards better known by the title of the Earl of Murray. He was a young nobleman of great parts, brave and skilful in war, and in peace a lover of justice, and a friend to the liberties of his country. His wisdom, good moral conduct, and the zeal he expressed for the reformed religion, occasioned his being the most active person amongst the Lords of the Congregation, as the leaders of the Protestant party were now called.

The Protestants had made their headquarters at Perth, where they had already commenced the public exercise of their religion. John Knox, whose eloquence gave him great influence with the people, had pronounced a vehement sermon against the sin of idolatry. When his discourse was finished, and while the minds of the hearers were still agitated by its effects, a friar produced a little glass case, or tabernacle, containing the images of saints, which he required the bystanders to worship. A boy who was present exclaimed, "That was gross and sinful idolatry!" The priest, as incautious in his passion as ill-timed in his devotion, struck the boy a blow, and the lad, in revenge, *threw a stone*, which broke one of the images. Imme-

diately all the people began to cast stones, not only at the images, but at the fine painted windows, and, finally, pulled down the altars, defaced the ornaments of the church, and nearly destroyed the whole building.

The example of the Reformers in Perth was followed in St. Andrews and other places; and we have to regret that many beautiful buildings fell a sacrifice to the fury of the lower orders, and were either totally destroyed, or reduced to piles of shapeless ruins.

The Reformers of the better class did not countenance these extremities. One great point in which the Catholics and Protestants differed was, that the former reckoned the churches as places hallowed and sacred in their own character, which it was a highly meritorious duty to ornament and adorn with every species of studied beauty of architecture. The Scottish Protestants, on the contrary, regarded them as mere buildings of stone and lime, having no especial claim to respect when the divine service was finished. The defacing, therefore, and even destroying, the splendid Catholic churches, seemed to the early Reformers the readiest mode of testifying their zeal. It would have been better to have followed the example of the citizens of Glasgow, who drew out in arms when the multitude were about to destroy the High Church of that city, and insisted that the building should remain uninjured, and be applied to the uses of a Protestant church.

The demolition of the churches and sacred buildings augmented the Queen Regent's displeasure against the Lords of the Congregation, and at length both parties took the field. The Protestant nobles were at the head of their numerous followers; the queen chiefly relied upon a small but select body of French troops. The war was not very violently carried on, for the side of the Reformers became every day stronger. At the same time, although the lords found it easy to bring together large bodies of men, yet they had not the money or means necessary to keep them together for a long time. Their difficulties became greater when the Queen Regent showed her design to fortify strongly the town of Leith.

and the adjacent island of Inchkeith, and placed her French soldiers in garrison there; so that, being in possession of that seaport, she might at all times, when she saw occasion, introduce an additional number of foreigners.

Unskilled in the art of conducting sieges, and totally without money, the Lords of the Congregation had recourse to the assistance of England; and for the first time an English fleet and army approached the territories of Scotland by sea and land, not with the purpose of invasion, as used to be the case of old, but to assist the nation in its resistance to the arms of France, and the regent's influence.

The English army was soon joined by the Scottish Lords of the Congregation, and advancing to Leith, laid siege to the town, which was most valorously defended by the French soldiers, who displayed a degree of ingenuity in their defence which, for a long time, resisted every effort of the besiegers. They were, however, blockaded by the English fleet, so that no provisions could be received by sea; and as on land they were surrounded by a considerable army, provisions became so scarce, that they were obliged to feed upon horse-flesh.

In the meantime, their mistress, the Queen Regent, had retired into the castle of Edinburgh, where grief, fatigue, and disappointed expectations, threw her into an illness, of which she died on the 10th of June, 1560. The French troops in Leith were now reduced to extremity, and Francis and Mary determined upon making peace in Scotland at the expense of most important concessions to the reformed party. They agreed that, instead of naming a new regent, the administration of affairs should be devolved upon a council of government chosen by Parliament; they passed an act of indemnity, as it is called, that is, an act pardoning all offences committed during these wars; and they left the subject of religion to be disposed of as the Parliament should determine, which was, in fact, giving the full power to the reformed party. All foreign troops, on both sides, were to be withdrawn accordingly.

The Parliament of Scotland being assembled, it was soon

seen that the Reformers possessed the power and inclination to direct all its resolutions upon the subject of religion.

It remained to dispose of the wealth lately enjoyed by the Catholic clergy, who were supposed to be possessed of half of the revenue of Scotland, so far as it arose from land. Knox and the other reformed clergy had formed a plan for the decent maintenance of a National Church out of these extensive funds, and proposed that what might be deemed more than sufficient for this purpose should be expended upon hospitals, schools, universities, and places of education. But the lords, who had seized the revenues of the church, were determined not to part with the spoil they had obtained; and those whom the preachers had found most active in destroying the Catholic power, were wonderfully cold when it was proposed to them to surrender the lands they had seized for their own use.

When Francis and Mary, who had now become King and Queen of France, heard that the Scottish Parliament had totally altered the religion, and changed the forms of the National Church from Catholic to Protestant, they were extremely angry; and had the king lived, it is most likely they would have refused to consent to this great innovation, and preferred rekindling the war by sending a new army of French into Scotland. But if they meditated such a measure, it was entirely prevented by the death of Francis II., on the 5th of December, 1560.

During her husband's life, Mary had exercised a great authority in France, for she possessed unbounded influence over his mind. After his death, and the accession of Charles his brother, that influence and authority were totally ended. It must have been painful to a lofty mind like Mary's thus to endure coldness and neglect in the place where she had met with honour and obedience. She retired, therefore, from the Court of France, and determined to return to her native kingdom of Scotland; a resolution most natural in itself, but which became the introduction to a long and melancholy tale of misfortunes.

CHAPTER XIX.

RETURN OF MARY TO SCOTLAND — HER MARRIAGE WITH
DARNLEY — DEATH OF RIZZIO — DEATH OF DARNLEY. —
1560–1567.

MARY STUART, the Queen Dowager of France and the hereditary Queen of Scotland, was, without any exception, the most beautiful and accomplished woman of her time. Her countenance was lovely; she was tall, well-formed, elegant in all her motions, skilled in the exercises of riding and dancing, and possessed of all the female accomplishments which were in fashion at that period. Her education in France had been carefully attended to, and she had profited by the opportunities of instruction she enjoyed. She was mistress of several languages, and understood state affairs, in which her husband had often used her advice. The beauty of Mary was enhanced by her great condescension, and by the good humour and gaiety which she sometimes carried to the verge of excess.

Mary set sail from France on 15th August, 1561. Occupied with anxious forebodings, the queen remained on the deck of her galley, gazing on the coasts of France. Morning found her in the same occupation; and when they vanished from her eyes, she exclaimed in sorrow, "Farewell, farewell, happy France; I shall never see thee more!"

She passed the English fleet under cover of a mist, and arrived at Leith on the 19th August, where little or no preparation had been made for her honourable reception. Such of the nobles as were in the capital hastened, however, to wait upon their young queen, and convey her to Holyrood, the palace of her ancestors. Horses were provided to bring her and her train to Edinburgh; but they were wretched ponies, and had such tattered furniture and accoutrements, that poor Mary, when she thought of the splendid palfreys and rich appointments at the Court of France, could not forbear shedding tears. The people were, however, in their way, rejoiced to see her.

With much prudence, the queen maintained all the

ual intercourse of civility with Elizabeth; and while she refused to abandon her title to the crown of England, in the case of Elizabeth dying without heirs of her body, she expressed her anxious wish to live on the best terms with her sister sovereign, and her readiness to relinquish, during the life of the English queen, any right of inheritance to the English crown which she might possess to her prejudice. Elizabeth was silenced, if not satisfied; and there continued to be a constant communication of apparent friendship between the two sovereigns, and an exchange of letters, compliments, and occasionally of presents, becoming their rank, with much profession of mutual kindness.

Thus far the reign of Mary had been eminently prosperous; but a fatal crisis approached which was eventually to plunge her into the utmost misery. She had no children by her deceased husband, the King of France, and her subjects were desirous that she should marry a second husband, a purpose which she herself entertained and encouraged. It was necessary, or politic at least, to insult Queen Elizabeth on the subject. That princess had declared her own resolution never to marry, and if she should keep this determination, Mary of Scotland as the next heir to the English crown. In expectation of this rich and splendid inheritance, it was both prudent and natural, that, in forming a new marriage, Mary should desire to have the advice and approbation of the princess whose realm she or her children might hope to succeed, especially if she could retain her favour. But Elizabeth's conduct towards her kinswoman Mary, from beginning to end, indicated a degree of envy and deceit totally unworthy of her general character. Determined herself not to marry, it seems to have been Elizabeth's desire to prevent Mary also from doing so, lest she should see before her a lineage, not her own, ready to occupy her throne immediately after her death.

Meantime, the views of Queen Mary turned towards young nobleman of high birth, nearly connected both with her own family and that of Elizabeth. This was Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley, eldest son of the Earl of

Lennox. The young Lord Darnley's father being of such high rank, and his parents having such pretensions, Mary imagined that in marrying him she would gratify the wishes of Elizabeth, who seemed to point out, though ambiguously, a native of Britain, and one not of royal rank, as her safest choice, and as that which would be most agreeable to herself.

Young Darnley was remarkably tall and handsome, perfect in all external and showy accomplishments, but unhappily destitute of sagacity, prudence, steadiness of character, and exhibiting only doubtful courage, though extremely violent in his passions. Mary had the misfortune to look upon this young nobleman with partiality, and was the more willing to gratify her own inclinations in his favour, that she longed to put an end to the intrigues by which Queen Elizabeth had endeavoured to impose upon her, and prevent her marriage.

Darnley, in the meantime, endeavouring to strengthen the interest which he had acquired in the queen's affections, had recourse to the friendship of a man of low rank, indeed, but who was understood to possess particular influence over the mind of Mary. This was an Italian of humble origin named David Rizzio, who had been promoted from being a menial in the queen's family, to the confidential office of French secretary.

Darnley, anxious to strengthen his interest with the queen on every hand, formed an intimacy with Rizzio, and employed all the arts of flattery to gain his favour; and he was unquestionably serviceable to him in advancing his suit. The queen, in the meanwhile, exerted herself to remove the obstacles to her union with Darnley, and with such success that, with the approbation of far the greater part of her subjects, they were married at Edinburgh on the 29th July, 1565. Mary, however, soon had cause to regret her choice of a husband, and she was at no pains to conceal from him the change in her feelings. Believing that Rizzio was mainly responsible for the growing estrangement of the queen, Darnley lent himself to a plot for putting *that* unfortunate foreigner to death. The conspirators

learning that Rizzio was to sup with Mary on a certain evening, came into the queen's apartment by a secret staircase. Darnley first entered the cabinet, and stood for an instant in silence, gloomily eyeing his victim. Lord Ruthven followed in complete armour, looking pale and ghastly, as one scarcely recovered from long sickness. Others crowded in after them, till the little closet was full of armed men. While the queen demanded the purpose of their coming, Rizzio, who saw that his life was aimed at, got behind her, and clasped the folds of her gown, that the respect due to her person might protect him. The assassins threw down the table, and seized on the unfortunate object of their vengeance, while Darnley himself took hold of the queen, and forced Rizzio and her asunder. It was their intention, doubtless, to have dragged Rizzio out of Mary's presence, and to have killed him elsewhere; but their fierce impatience hurried them into instant murder. They dragged him through the bedroom and ante-chamber, and despatched him at the head of the staircase, with no less than fifty-six wounds.

Darnley, as fickle as he was vehement, and as timorous as he had shown himself cruel, became terrified at what had been done, and seemed much disposed to deny having given any countenance to the crime. Mary prevailed on him to take part against the very persons whom he had instigated to the late atrocious proceeding; and Morton, Ruthven, and their comrades, fled to England.

On the 19th of June, 1566, Mary was delivered of a son, afterwards James VI. When news of this event reached London, Queen Elizabeth was merrily engaged in dancing; but upon hearing what had happened, she left the dance, and sate down, leaning her head on her hand, and exclaiming passionately to her ladies, "Do you not hear how the Queen of Scots is mother of a fair son, while I am but a barren stock!" But next morning she had recovered herself sufficiently to maintain her usual appearance of outward civility, received the Scottish ambassador with much seeming favour, and *accepted with thanks* the office of godmother to the

young prince, which he proffered to her in Queen Mary's name.

In the meantime, the dissensions between Darnley and the queen continued to increase ; and while he must have been disliked by Mary from their numerous quarrels, and the affronts he put upon her, as well as from his share in the murder of Rizzio, those who had been concerned with him in that last crime, considered him as a poor mean-spirited wretch, who, having engaged his associates in so daring an act, had afterwards betrayed and deserted them. His conduct continued to show no improvement in either sense or spirit. He pretended he would leave the kingdom, and by this and other capricious resolutions, hastily adopted and abandoned, he so far alienated the affections of the queen, that many of the unscrupulous and plotting nobles by whom she was surrounded, formed the idea that it would be very agreeable to Mary if she could be freed from her union with this unreasonable and ill-tempered young man.



HOLYROOD PALACE.

While schemes were in agitation against his life, Darnley fell ill at Glasgow, and his indisposition proved *to be the small-pox*. The queen sent her physician, and

after an interval went herself to wait upon him, and an apparent reconciliation was effected between them. They came together to Edinburgh on the 31st January, 1567. The king was lodged in a religious house called the Kirk of Field, just without the walls of the city. The queen and the infant prince were accommodated in the palace of Holyrood. The reason assigned for their living separate was the danger of the child catching the small-pox. But the queen showed much attention to her husband, visiting him frequently; and they never seemed to have been on better terms than when the conspiracy against Darnley's life was on the eve of being executed. Meanwhile, Darnley and his groom of the chamber were alone during the night time, and separated from any other persons, when measures were taken for his destruction in the following horrible manner.

On the evening of the 9th February, several persons, kinsmen, retainers, and servants of the Earl of Bothwell, came in secret to the Kirk of Field. They had with them a great quantity of gunpowder; and by means of false keys they obtained entrance into the cellars of the building, where they disposed of the powder in the vaults under Darnley's apartment, and especially beneath the spot where his bed was placed. About two hours after midnight upon the ensuing morning, Bothwell himself came disguised in a riding-cloak, to see the execution of the cruel project. Two of his ruffians went in and took measures for firing the powder, by lighting a piece of slow-burning match at one end, and placing the other amongst the gunpowder. They remained for some time watching the event, and Bothwell became so impatient, that it was with difficulty he was prevented from entering the house, to see whether the light had not been extinguished by some accident. One of his accomplices, by looking through a window, ascertained that it was still burning. The explosion presently took place, blew up the Kirk of Field, and alarmed the whole city. The body of Darnley was found in the adjoining orchard. The bed in which he lay had preserved him from all actions of the fire, which occasioned a general belief that he and his chamber-groom, who was found in

the same situation, had been strangled and removed before the house was blown up. But this was a mistake. It is clearly proved, by the evidence of those who were present at the event, that there were no means employed but the gunpowder—a mode of destruction sufficiently powerful to have rendered any other unnecessary.

CHAPTER XX.

DISCONTENT WITH MARY—HER MARRIAGE WITH BOTHWELL—HER IMPRISONMENT—DEFEAT AT LANGSIDE.—1567–1568.

THE horrible murder of the unhappy Darnley excited the strongest suspicions, and the greatest discontent, in the city of Edinburgh, and throughout the whole kingdom. Bothwell was pointed out by the general voice as the author of the murder; and as he still continued to enjoy the favour of Mary, her reputation was not spared.

Lennox, father of the murdered Darnley, had accused Bothwell of the murder of his son. But he received little countenance in prosecuting the accused. Every thing seemed to be done as if it were determined to defeat the ends of justice; and a jury, consisting of nobles and gentlemen of the first rank, acquitted Bothwell of a crime of which all the world believed him to be guilty.

Whilst these strange proceedings took place, Bothwell had been able to procure a sentence of divorce against his wife, a sister of the Earl of Huntly. On the 15th May, Mary, with unpardonable indiscretion, committed the great folly of marrying this ambitious and profligate man, stained as he was with the blood of her husband.

In the meantime, the public discontent rose high, and Morton, Maitland, and others, who had been privy to the murder of Darnley, placed themselves, notwithstanding, at the head of a numerous party of the nobility, who resolved to revenge his death, and remove *Bothwell from his usurped power*. They took arms hastily,

and had nearly surprised the queen and Bothwell while feasting in the castle of the Lord Borthwick, from whence they fled to Dunbar, the queen being concealed in the disguise of a page.

The confederated lords marched towards Dunbar, and the queen and Bothwell, having assembled an army, advanced to the encounter, and met them on Carberry Hill, not far from the place where the battle of Pinkie was fought. This was on the 15th of June, 1567. Many, if not most, of those troops who had joined the queen, had little inclination to fight in Bothwell's cause. She therefore recommended him to fly from the field of action; an advice which he was not slow in following, riding to Dunbar as fast as he could, and from thence escaping by sea.

Mary surrendered herself, upon promise of respect and kind treatment, and was conducted to the headquarters of the confederate army. On the next evening, the 16th June, 1567, escorted by a strong armed force, she was conveyed from Holyrood to the castle of Lochleven, and imprisoned in that rude and inconvenient tower, where there was scarce room to walk fifty yards; and not even the intercession of Queen Elizabeth, who seems for the time to have been alarmed at the successful insurrection of subjects against their sovereign, could procure any mitigation of her captivity. There was a proposal to proceed against the queen as an accomplice in Darnley's murder, and to take her life under that pretence. But the Lords of the Secret Council resolved to adopt somewhat of a gentler course, by compelling Mary to surrender her crown to her son, then an infant, and to make the Earl of Murray regent during the child's minority. Deeds to this purpose were drawn up and sent to the castle of Lochleven, to be signed by the queen. Lord Lindsay, the rudest, most bigoted, and fiercest of the confederated lords, was deputed to enforce Mary's compliance with the commands of the council. He behaved with the most peremptory brutality, and was so unmanly as to pinch, with his iron glove, the arm of the poor queen, to compel her to subscribe the deeds.

Murray accepted of the regency. He was now at the head of the ruling faction, consisting of what were called the King's Lords; while such of the nobility as desired that Mary, now freed from the society of Bothwell, should be placed at liberty, and restored to the administration of the kingdom, were termed the Queen's Party. The strict and sagacious government of Murray imposed silence and submission for a time upon this last-named faction; but a singular incident changed the face of things for a moment, and gave a gleam of hope to the unfortunate captive.

Sir William Douglas, the Laird of Lochleven, owner of the castle where Mary was imprisoned, was a half-brother by the mother's side of the Regent Murray. This baron discharged with severe fidelity the task of Mary's jailer; but his youngest brother, George Douglas, became more sensible to the queen's distress, and perhaps to her beauty, than to the interests of the regent, or of his own family. A plot laid by him for the queen's deliverance was discovered, and he was expelled from the island in consequence. But he kept up a correspondence with a kinsman of his own, called Little Douglas, a boy of fifteen or sixteen, who had remained in the castle. On Sunday, the 2nd May, 1568, this little William Douglas contrived to steal the keys of the castle while the family were at supper. He let Mary and her attendant out of the tower when all had gone to rest—locked the gates of the castle to prevent pursuit—placed the queen and her waiting-woman in a little skiff, and rowed them to the shore, throwing the keys of the castle into the lake in the course of their passage. Just when they were about to set out on this adventurous voyage, the youthful pilot had made a signal, by a light in a particular window, visible at the upper end of the lake, to intimate that all was safe. Lord Seaton and a party of the Hamiltons were waiting at the landing-place. The queen instantly mounted, and hurried off to Niddry, in West Lothian, from which place she went next day to Hamilton.

It was the queen's purpose to place her person in

security in the castle of Dumbarton, and her army, under the Earl of Argyle, proposed to carry her thither in a species of triumph. The regent was lying at Glasgow with much inferior forces; but, with just confidence in his own military skill, as well as the talents of Morton.



DUMBARTON CASTLE.

On 13th May, 1568, Murray occupied the village of Langside, which lay full in the march of the queen's army. The Hamiltons, and other gentlemen of Mary's troop, rushed forth with ill-considered valour to dispute the pass. They fought with obstinacy, but the queen's army was completely routed.

Queen Mary beheld this final and fatal defeat from a castle called Crookstane, about four miles from Paisley, where she and Darnley had spent some happy days after their marriage, and which, therefore, must have been the scene of bitter recollections. It was soon evident that there was no resource but in flight, and, escorted by

Lord Herries and a few faithful followers, she rode sixty miles before she stopped, at the Abbey of Dundrennan in Galloway.

CHAPTER XXI.

MURDER OF REGENT MURRAY — REGENT MORTON — PLOT AGAINST THE KING.—1570-1582.

MARY sought refuge in England, believing that her relative Queen Elizabeth, notwithstanding the little jealousies of the past, would show her substantial kindness, a belief in which she was destined to be cruelly deceived. Meantime, the course of events in Scotland was by no means smooth.

After the battle of Langside, six of the Hamiltons, who had been most active on that occasion, were sentenced to die, as being guilty of treason against James VI., in having espoused his mother's cause. In this doom there was little justice, considering how the country was divided between the claims of the mother and the son. But the decree was not acted upon, and the persons condemned received their pardon through the mediation of John Knox with the regent.

One of the individuals thus pardoned was Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, a man of a fierce and vindictive character. Like others in his condition, he was punished by the forfeiture of his property, although his life was spared. His wife had brought him, as her portion, the lands of Woodhouselee, near Roslin, and these were bestowed by Murray upon one of his favourites. This person exercised the right so rudely, as to turn Hamilton's wife out of her own house undressed, and unprotected from the fury of the weather. In consequence of this brutal treatment, she became insane and died. Her husband vowed revenge, not on the actual author of his misfortune, but upon the Regent Murray, whom he considered *as the original cause of it*.

The assassin took his measures with every mark of deliberation. Having learned that the regent was to pass through Linlithgow on a certain day, he secretly introduced himself into an empty house which had in front a wooden balcony looking upon the street. To secure his escape, he fastened a fleet horse in the garden behind the house, and pulled down the lintel stones from the posts of the garden door, so that he might be able to pass through it on horseback. Having thus prepared all for concealment until the deed was done, and for escape afterwards, he armed himself with a loaded carbine, shut himself up in the lonely chamber, and waited the arrival of his victim.

Some friend of Murray transmitted to him a hint of the danger which he might incur, in passing through a place in which he was known to have enemies. But the regent held on his way through the crowded street. As he came opposite the fatal balcony, his horse being somewhat retarded by the number of spectators, Bothwellhaugh had time to take a deliberate aim. He fired, and the regent fell, mortally wounded. The ball, after passing through his body, killed the horse of a gentleman who rode on his right hand. His attendants rushed furiously at the door of the house from which the shot had issued; but Bothwellhaugh's precautions had been so securely taken, that they were unable to force their entrance till he had mounted his good horse and escaped through the garden gate. He was, notwithstanding, pursued so closely, that he had very nearly been taken; but after spur and whip had both failed, he pricked his horse with his dagger, compelled him to take a desperate leap over a ditch, which his pursuers were unable to cross, and thus made his escape.

The regent died in the course of the night, leaving a character which has been, perhaps, too highly extolled by one class of authors, and too much depreciated by another, according as his conduct to his sister was approved or condemned.

In succession to the Earls of Lennox and Mar, who each held office for a short time, the Earl of Morton became

regent. This nobleman, however respectable for courage and talents, was nevertheless of a fierce, treacherous, and cruel disposition. It was to be expected that he would continue the war with the same ferocious cruelty by which it had been distinguished, instead of labouring, like Mar, to diminish its violence. The unsettled state of the country furnished him with sufficient excuse for indulging his war-like propensities; and his characteristic treachery found ample opportunities of asserting itself in the discharge of his official duties. Old friendships were studiously forgotten, the claims of honour contemptuously disregarded, and the most outrageous deeds perpetrated in the name of order. Morton's chief anxiety was to gratify Queen Elizabeth, who took a deep interest in all that affected Scotland, and was by no means averse to the exercise of the regent's severity on those who had the misfortune to incur her displeasure.

The Earl of Morton set the example of appropriating church revenues to his own purposes. This he did by reviving the order of bishops, which had been discarded from the Presbyterian form of church government. For example, on the execution of the Archbishop of Saint Andrews, he caused Douglas, rector of Saint Andrews, to be made archbishop in his place; but then he allowed this nominal prelate only a small pension out of the large revenues of the bishopric, and retained possession of all the rest of the income for his own private use, though the rents were levied in the bishop's name.

It was not only by confiscation that Morton endeavoured to amass wealth. He took money for the offices which he had it in his power to bestow. Even in administering justice his hands were not pure from bribes. Such greedy profligacy by degrees alienated from Morton even the affection and inclination of his best friends, and his government at length became so unpopular, that a universal wish was entertained that the king would put an end to the regency by taking the reins of government into his own hands.

James VI. was but an infant when he was placed on *the throne* of his mother. He was now only a boy of

fourteen, very good-natured, and with as much learning as two excellent schoolmasters could cram into him. In fact, he had more learning than wisdom; and yet, in the course of his future life, it did not appear that he was so destitute of good sense as of the power to form manly purposes, and the firmness necessary to maintain them. A certain childishness and meanness of mind rendered his good sense useless, and his learning ridiculous. Even from his infancy he was passionately addicted to favourites, and already, in his thirteenth or fourteenth year, there were persons so high in his good graces, that they could induce him to do anything they pleased.

A plot was formed among the discontented nobles to remove the king's favourites from the court; and this was to be accomplished by forcibly seizing on the person of the king himself, which, during the minority of the prince, was the ordinary mode of changing an administration in the kingdom of Scotland.

On the 23rd August, 1582, the Earl of Gowrie invited the king to his castle at Ruthven, under pretext of hunting; he was joined by the Earl of Mar, Lord Lindsay, the Tutor of Glamis, and other noblemen, chiefly such as had been friendly to the Regent Morton, and who were, like him, attached to Queen Elizabeth's faction. When the king saw so many persons gather round him, whom he knew to be hostile to his present measures, he became apprehensive of their intentions, and expressed himself desirous of leaving the castle.

The nobles gave him to understand that he would not be permitted to do so; and when James rose and went towards the door of the apartment, the Tutor of Glamis, a rude stern man, placed his back against it, and compelled him to return. Affronted at this act of personal restraint and violence, the king burst into tears. "Let him weep on," said the Tutor of Glamis, fiercely; "better that bairns weep, than bearded men." These words sank deep into the king's heart, nor did he ever forget or forgive them.

The insurgent lords took possession of the government, and banished the Duke of Lennox to France, where he

died broken-hearted at the fall of his fortunes. James afterwards recalled his son to Scotland, and invested him with his father's fortune and dignities. Arran, the king's much less worthy favourite, was thrown into prison and closely guarded. The king himself, reduced to a state of captivity, like his grandfather, James V., when in the hands of the Douglasses, temporized, and watched an opportunity of escape. His guards consisted of a hundred gentlemen, and their commander, Colonel Stewart, a relation of the disgraced and imprisoned Arran, was easily engaged to do what the king wished.

James, with the purpose of recovering his freedom, made a visit to Saint Andrews, and, when there, affected some curiosity to see the castle. But no sooner had he entered it than he caused the gates to be shut, and excluded from his presence the nobles who had been necessary to what was called the Raid of Ruthven.

The Earl of Gowrie and his accomplices being thus thrust out of office, and deprived of the custody of the king's person, united in a fresh plot for regaining the power they had lost, by a new insurrection. In this, however, they were unsuccessful. The king advanced against them with considerable forces; Gowrie was made prisoner, tried, and executed at Stirling, 4th May, 1584. Angus and the other insurgents fled to England, the ordinary refuge of Scottish exiles.

CHAPTER XXII.

ELIZABETH'S TREATMENT OF MARY—TRIAL—EXECUTION. 1568-1587.

ELIZABETH's conduct towards Queen Mary casts a deep shade over her virtues. Mary was transported from castle to castle, and placed under the charge of various keepers, who incurred Elizabeth's most severe resentment, when *they* manifested any of that attention to soften the

rigours of the poor queen's captivity, which mere courtesy, and compassion for fallen greatness, sometimes prompted.

Elizabeth, no doubt, had cause to regard the Queen of Scots with fear as well as envy and hatred. The Catholic party in England were still very strong, and they considered the claim of Mary to the throne of England, as descended from the Princess Margaret, daughter of Henry VII., to be preferable to that of the existing queen, who was, in their judgment, illegitimate, as being the heir of an illegal marriage betwixt Henry VIII. and Anne Bullen.

The numerous conspiracies hatched with a view to elevate Mary to the throne of England, led to the passing of a very extraordinary law, which made Mary, against whom it was levelled, responsible for the deeds of others, as well as for her own actions; so that if the Catholics rose in rebellion, although without warrant from Mary, or even against her inclination, she was nevertheless rendered liable to lose her right of succession to the crown, and indeed to forfeit her life.

This act was passed in 1585, and in the following year a pretext was found for making it the ground of proceedings against Mary. Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of fortune and of talents, but a zealous Catholic, and a fanatical enthusiast in the cause of the Scottish queen, had associated with himself five resolute friends and adherents, all men of condition, in the desperate enterprise of assassinating Queen Elizabeth, and setting Mary at liberty. But their schemes were secretly betrayed to Walsingham, the celebrated minister of the Queen of England. They were suffered to proceed as far as was thought safe, then seized, tried, and executed.

It was next resolved upon that Mary should be brought to trial for her life, under pretence of having encouraged Babington and his companions in their desperate purpose. She was removed to the castle of Fotheringay, and placed under two keepers, Sir Amias Paulet and Sir Drew Drury, whose well-known hatred of the Catholic religion was supposed to render them inclined to treat

their unfortunate captive with the utmost rigour. Queen Elizabeth then proceeded to name commissioners, in terms of the Act of Parliament. They were forty in number, of the most distinguished of her statesmen and nobility, and were directed to proceed to the trial of Mary for her alleged accession to Babington's conspiracy.

On the 14th October, 1586, these commissioners held their court in the great hall of Fotheringay Castle. Mary, left to herself, and having counsel of no friend, advocate, or lawyer, made, nevertheless, a defence becoming her high birth and distinguished talents. She refused to plead before a court composed of persons who were of a degree inferior to her own; and when at length she agreed to hear and answer the accusation brought against her, she made her protest that she did so, not as owning the authority of the court, but purely in vindication of her own character.

The evidence which was brought to convict the Queen of Scotland was such as would not now affect the life of the meanest criminal; yet the Commission had the cruelty and meanness to declare Mary guilty of having been accessory to Babington's conspiracy, and of having contrived and endeavoured the death of Queen Elizabeth, contrary to the statute made for security of the queen's life. And the Parliament of England approved of and ratified this iniquitous sentence.

It was not perhaps to be expected that James VI. should have had much natural affection for his mother, whom he had never seen since his infancy, and who had, doubtless, been represented to him as a very bad woman, and as one desirous, if she could have obtained her liberty, of dispossessing him of the crown which he wore, and resuming it herself. He had, therefore, seen Mary's captivity with little of the sympathy which a child ought to feel for a parent. But upon learning these proceedings against her life, he must have been destitute of the most ordinary feelings of human nature, and would have made himself a reproach and scandal throughout all Europe, if he had not interfered in her behalf. He therefore sent *ambassadors*, first Sir William Keith, and after him the

Master of Gray, to intercede with Queen Elizabeth, and to use both persuasion and threats to preserve the life of his mother.

It seems probable that had James been very serious in his interposition, or had his ambassador been disposed to urge the interference committed to his charge with due firmness and vigour, it could scarce have failed in being successful. But the Master of Gray, as is now admitted, privately encouraged Elizabeth and her ministers to proceed in the cruel path they had chosen, and treacherously gave them reason to believe, that though, for the sake of decency, James found it necessary to interfere in his mother's behalf, yet, in his secret mind, he would not be very sorry that Mary, who, in the eyes of a part of his subjects, was still regarded as sovereign of Scotland, should be quietly removed out of the way.

Elizabeth signed a warrant for the execution of the sentence pronounced on Queen Mary, and gave it to Davison, her secretary of state, commanding that it should be sealed with the great seal of England. Davison laid the warrant, signed by Elizabeth, before the Privy Council, and next day the great seal was placed upon it. Elizabeth, upon hearing this, affected some displeasure that the warrant had been so speedily prepared, and told the secretary that it was the opinion of wise men that some other course might be taken with Queen Mary. Davison, in this pretended change of mind, saw some danger that his mistress might throw the fault of the execution upon him after it had taken place. He therefore informed the Keeper of the Seals what the queen had said, protesting he would not venture farther in the matter. The Privy Council, having met together, and conceiving themselves certain what were the queen's real wishes, determined to save her the pain of expressing them more broadly, and resolving that the blame, if any might arise, should be common to them all, sent off the warrant for execution with their clerk Beale.

Mary received the melancholy intelligence with the *utmost firmness*. She earnestly requested the assistance

of a priest; but this favour, which is granted to the worst criminals, was cruelly refused.

On the 8th February, 1587, the queen, still maintaining the same calm and undisturbed appearance which she had displayed at her pretended trial, was brought down to the great hall of the castle, where a scaffold was erected, on which were placed a block and a chair, the whole being covered with black cloth. Mary laid her head on the block, and the executioner severed it from her body with two strokes of his axe. The headsman held it up in his hand, and the Dean of Peterborough cried out, "So perish all Queen Elizabeth's enemies!" No voice, save that of the Earl of Kent, could answer, *Amen*: the rest were choked with sobs and tears.

Queen Elizabeth, in the same spirit of hypocrisy which had characterised all her proceedings towards Mary, no sooner knew that the deed was done, than she hastened to deny her own share in it. She pretended that Davison had acted positively against her command in laying the warrant before the Privy Council; and that she might seem the more serious in her charge, she caused him to be fined in a large sum of money, and deprived him of his offices, and of her favour for ever. She sent a special ambassador to King James, to apologise for "this unhappy accident," as she chose to term the execution of Queen Mary.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CHARACTER OF JAMES V.—GOWRIE CONSPIRACY. 1587–1603.

JAMES was now in full possession of the Scottish kingdom, and showed himself to as much, or greater advantage, than at any subsequent period of his life. His reign in Scotland was marked with so many circumstances of difficulty, and even of danger, that he was placed upon his guard, and compelled to conduct himself with the *strictest* attention to the rules of prudence; for he had

little chance of overawing his turbulent nobility, but by maintaining the dignity of the royal character.

He had extreme difficulty in his necessary intercourse with the Scottish clergy, who possessed a strong influence over the minds of the people, and sometimes used it in interference with public affairs. Although they had not, like the bishops of England and other countries, a seat in Parliament, yet they did not the less intermeddle with politics, and often preached from the pulpit against the king and his measures.

But by far the greatest pest of Scotland at that time was the deadly feuds among the nobility and gentry, which eventually led to the most bloody consequences, and were perpetuated from father to son; while the king's good nature, which rendered him very ready to grant pardons to those who had committed such inhuman outrages, made the evil still more frequent.

To do justice to James VI., he adopted every measure in his power to put an end to these fatal scenes of strife and bloodshed. Wise laws were made for preventing the outrages which had been so general; and in order to compose the feuds amongst the nobles, James invited the principal lords, who had quarrels, to a great banquet, where he endeavoured to make them agree together, and caused them to take each other's hands and become friends on the spot. They obeyed him; and proceeding himself at their head, he made them walk in procession to the Cross of Edinburgh, still hand in hand, in token of perfect reconciliation, whilst the provost and magistrates danced before them for joy, to see such a prospect of peace and concord. Perhaps this reconciliation was too hasty to last long in every instance; but upon the whole, the authority of the law gradually gained strength, and the passions of men grew less fierce as it became more unsafe to indulge them.

The strangest adventure in James's reign was the event called the Gowrie Conspiracy, over which there hangs a sort of mystery, which time has not even yet completely dispelled.

In the month of August, 1600, Alexander Ruthven,

brother of the Earl of Gowrie, came early one morning to the king, who was then hunting in the park of Falkland, and told him a story of his having seized a suspicious-looking man, a Jesuit, as he supposed, with a large pot of gold under his cloak. This man, Ruthven said, he had detained prisoner at his brother's house, in Perth, till the king should examine him and take possession of the treasure. With this story, he decoyed James from the hunting field, and persuaded him to ride with him to Perth, without any other company than a few noblemen and attendants, who followed the king without orders.

When they arrived at Perth, they entered Gowrie-house, the mansion of the Earl, a large massive building, having gardens which stretched down to the river Tay. The Earl of Gowrie was, or seemed surprised, to see the king arrive so unexpectedly, and caused some entertainment to be hastily prepared for his majesty's refreshment. After the king had dined, Alexander Ruthven pressed him to come with him to see the prisoner in private; and James, curious by nature, and sufficiently indigent to be inquisitive after money, followed him from one apartment to another, until Ruthven led him into a little turret, where there stood—not a prisoner with a pot of gold—but an armed man, prepared, as it seemed, for some violent enterprise. The king started back, but Ruthven snatched the dagger which the man wore, and pointing it to James's breast, reminded him of his father the Earl of Gowrie's death, and commanded him, upon pain of death, to submit to his pleasure.

While the attendants of James, who had missed him, knew not what to think, a half-smothered, yet terrified voice, was heard to scream from the window of a turret above their heads—"Help! Treason! Help! my Lord of Mar!" They looked upwards, and beheld James's face in great agitation pushed through the window, while a hand was seen grasping his throat, as if some one behind endeavoured by violence to draw him back.

His retinue hastened to his assistance. A page of the king's, called Sir John Ramsay, discovered a back stair which led him to the turret, where Ruthven and the king

were still struggling. Ramsay stabbed Ruthven twice with his dagger, James calling to him to strike high, as he had a doublet of proof on him. Ramsay then thrust Ruthven, now mortally wounded, towards the private staircase, where he was met by Sir Thomas Erskine and Sir Hugh Herries, two of the royal attendants, who despatched him with their swords. His last words were: "Alas! I am not to blame for this action."

The object of this strange conspiracy is one of the darkest in history, and what made it stranger, the armed man who was stationed in the turret could throw no light upon it.

Nine years after the affair, some light was thrown upon the transaction by one Sprot, a notary-public, who, out of mere curiosity, had possessed himself of certain letters, said to have been written to the Earl of Gowrie by Robert Logan of Restalrig, a scheming, turbulent, and profligate man. In these papers allusion was repeatedly made to the death of Gowrie's father, to the revenge which was meditated, and to the execution of some great and perilous enterprise. Lastly, there was intimation that the Ruthvens were to bring a prisoner by sea to Logan's fortress of Fastcastle, a very strong and inaccessible tower, overhanging the sea, on the coast of Berwickshire.

All these expressions seem to point at a plot, not affecting the king's life, but his personal liberty, and make it probable, that when Alexander Ruthven had frightened the king into silence and compliance, the brothers intended to carry him through the gardens, and put him on board of a boat, and so conveying him down the Frith of Tay, might, after making a private signal, which Logan alludes to, place their royal prisoner in security at Fastcastle.

King James VI. of Scotland married the daughter of the King of Denmark, called Anne of Denmark. They had a family, which recommended them very much to the English people, who were tired of seeing their crown pass from one female to another, without any prospect of male succession. They began, therefore, to turn their

eyes towards James as the nearest heir to King Henry VIII., and the rightful successor, when Queen Elizabeth should fail. She was now old, her health broken, and her feelings painfully agitated by the death of Essex, her principal favourite. After his execution, she could scarcely be said ever to enjoy either health or reason. She sat on a pile of cushions, with her finger in her mouth, attending, as it seemed, to nothing, saving to the prayers which were from time to time read in her chamber.

While the Queen of England was thus struggling out the last moments of her life, her subjects were making interest with her successor, James, with whom even Cecil himself, the Prime Minister of England, had long kept up a secret correspondence. The breath had no sooner left Elizabeth's body than the near relation and godson of the late queen, Sir Robert Carey, got on horseback, and, travelling with a rapidity which almost equalled that of the modern mail-coach, carried to the palace of Holyrood the news that James was King of England and Ireland, as well as of his native dominions of Scotland.

James arrived in London on the 7th of May, 1603, and took possession of his new realms without the slightest opposition ; and thus the island of Great Britain, so long divided into the separate kingdoms of England and Scotland, became subject to the same prince.

CHAPTER XXIV.

RECEPTION OF THE KING IN ENGLAND—EFFECT OF THE
CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT ON SCOTLAND—VISIT OF
JAMES TO SCOTLAND—HIS DEATH AND CHARACTER.—
1603–1625.

KING JAMES was received with universal acclamation by his new subjects. Multitudes, of every description, *hastened to accompany him on his journey through Eng-*

land to London. The wealthy placed their gold at his disposal, the powerful opened their halls for the most magnificent entertainments, the clergy hailed him as the head of the church, and the poor, who had nothing to offer but their lives, seemed ready to devote them to his service.

He applied himself with diligence to cement, as much as possible, the union of the two kingdoms, and to impart to each such advantages as they might be found capable of borrowing from the other. The love of power, natural to him as a sovereign, combined with a sincere wish for what would be most advantageous to both countries, induced him to accelerate by every means the union of the two separate portions of Britain into one solid and inseparable State, for which nature designed the inhabitants of the same island. He was not negligent in adopting measures to attain so desirable an object, though circumstances deferred the accomplishment of his wishes till the lapse of a century.

It soon, however, became felt in Scotland that the nation at large was not enriched by the union of the crowns. Edinburgh was no longer the residence of a court whose expenditure was diffused among her merchants and citizens. The sons of the gentry and better classes, whose sole trade had been war and battle, were deprived of employment by the general peace with England. Yet the wars on the continent afforded a resource peculiarly fitted to the genius of the Scots, who have always had a disposition for visiting foreign countries. The celebrated Thirty Years' War, as it was called, was now raging in Germany, and a large national brigade of Scots was engaged in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, one of the most successful generals of the age.

Besides the many thousand Scottish emigrants who pursued the trade of war on the continent, there was another numerous class who undertook the toilsome and precarious task of travelling merchants, and were employed in conducting the petty inland commerce of the greater part of Europe.

While the Scots thus continued to improve their condition abroad, they gradually sank into peaceful habits at home; and in order the more effectually to enhance the blessings of peace, the legislature was induced to authorise the noble enactment, which appointed a school to be kept in every parish of Scotland, at a low rate of endowment indeed, but such as enabled every poor man within the parish to procure for his children the knowledge of reading and writing; and afforded an opportunity for those who showed a decided taste for learning, to make such progress in classical knowledge as might fit them for college studies. There can be no doubt that the opportunity thus afforded of procuring instruction, tended, in the course of a generation, greatly to civilize and humanize the character of the Scottish nation; and it is equally certain, that this general access to useful knowledge, has not only given rise to the success of many men of genius, who otherwise would never have aspired above the humble rank in which they were born, but has raised the common people of Scotland in general, in knowledge, sagacity, and intelligence, many degrees above those of most other countries.

James VI., in 1617, revisited his ancient kingdom of Scotland. He was received with every appearance of affection by his Scottish subjects; and the only occasion of quarrel arose from the partiality he evinced to the forms and ritual of the Church of England.

On returning to England, he expressed an intention of paying periodical visits to his native land, to inquire into the administration of justice, and the progress of national institutions, as well as to keep alive the sentiment of loyalty to his person, and respect for the crown; yet, although he lived long enough to have given effect to his intentions, the cares and obligations of royalty would seem to have been too engrossing to permit the realization of his plans. At all events, he never again returned to Scotland, however much he may have wished to do so. He died on the 27th March, 1625, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-second after his accession *to the throne of England.*

James was the least dignified and accomplished of all his family; but, at the same time, the most fortunate. He himself alone, without courage, without sound sagacity, without that feeling of dignity which should restrain a prince from foolish indulgences, became king of the great nation which had for ages threatened to subdue that of which he was born monarch; and the good fortune of the Stuart family, which seems to have existed in his person alone, declined and totally decayed in those of his successors.

The character of James VI. has been a subject of much discussion; and it is, perhaps, difficult to form a correct estimate, in all respects, of a mind so peculiarly constituted. Yet many of his peculiarities were very distinctly marked; and there appears no reason to doubt that he was, as has been so well described, fond of dignity, while perpetually degrading it; a wit, though a pendant; and a scholar, though addicted to the society of the unlearned. He was devout in his sentiments, though too often profane in his language; and just by nature, though a facile tool of oppression in the hands of others. In short, the contradictions of his character earned for him the distinction of being reckoned the wisest fool in Christendom.

He had lost his eldest son, Henry, a youth of extraordinary promise. His second, Charles I., succeeded him on the throne. He left also one daughter, Elizabeth, married to Frederick, the Elector Palatine of the German Empire. He was an unfortunate prince, and with a view of obtaining the kingdom of Bohemia, engaged in a ruinous war with the emperor, by which he lost his hereditary dominions. But the elector's evil fortune was redeemed in the person of his descendants, from whom sprung the royal family who now possess the British throne, in right of the Princess Elizabeth.

CHAPTER XXV.

CHARACTER OF CHARLES I.—HIS INTENTIONS REGARDING
THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN SCOTLAND—RIOT IN
EDINBURGH—THE NATIONAL COVENANT—WAR WITH
ENGLAND—THE BATTLE OF NEWBURN.—1625-1640.

CHARLES I., who succeeded his father, was a prince whose personal qualities were excellent. It was said of him, justly, that considered as a private gentleman, there was not a more honourable, virtuous, and religious man in his dominions. He was a kind father, an indulgent master, and an affectionate husband. Charles possessed also the personal dignity which his father totally wanted; and there is no question that he had the intention to rule his people justly and mercifully. But he entertained extravagant ideas of the regal power, which occasioned his own total ruin, and, for a time, that of his posterity.

Charles held those opinions of his own rights as a monarch, which had been infused into him by his father's instructions, and he was obstinate and persevering where James had been timid and flexible. Arbitrary courts of justice, particularly one termed the Star Chamber, afforded the king the means of punishing those who opposed themselves to the royal will; but the violent exertion of authority only increased the sense of the evil, and a general discontent against the king's person and prerogative began to prevail throughout England.

The king had kept firmly in view his father's favourite project of bringing the Church of Scotland, in point of church government and church ceremonies, to the same model with that of England. But to settle a national church, with a gradation of dignified clergy, required large funds, which Scotland could not afford for such a purpose. In this dilemma, the king and his counsellors resolved, by one sweeping act of revocation, to resume to the crown all the tithes and benefices which had been *conferred* upon laymen at the Reformation, and thus

obtain the funds necessary to endow the projected bishoprics.

When assembled in Parliament, or, as it was termed, the Convention of Estates, the Scottish lords who were possessed of grants of tithes determined that, rather than yield to the revocation proposed by the Earl of Nithsdale, who was the royal commissioner, they would massacre him and his adherents in the face of the assembly. This purpose was so decidedly entertained, that Lord Belhaven, an old blind man, placed himself close to the Earl of Dumfries, a supporter of the intended revocation, and keeping hold of his neighbour with one hand, for which he apologised, as being necessary to enable him to support himself, he held in the other the hilt of a dagger concealed in his bosom, that, as soon as the general signal should be given, he might play his part in the tragedy by plunging it into Lord Dumfries's heart. Nithsdale, learning something of this desperate resolution, gave the proposed measure of revocation up for the time, and returned to court.

The king, however, was at length able, by the assistance of a convention of the clergy summoned together by the bishops, and by the general clamour of the landowners, who complained of the rigorous exactions of the titulars, to obtain a partial surrender of the tithes into the power of the crown. The power of levying them in kind was suppressed; the landholder was invested with a right to retain every season's tithe upon paying a modified sum, and to purchase the entire right from the titular, if he had the means to do so, at a rate of purchase restricted to seven years' rent.

These alterations were attended with the greatest advantages to the country in process of time, but they were very offensive to the Scottish nobility, whom they deprived of valuable rights at an inadequate price.

Charles visited his native country of Scotland in 1633, for the purpose of being crowned. He was received by the people at first with great apparent affection; but discontent arose on its being observed that he omitted no opportunity of pressing upon the bishops, who had

hitherto only worn plain black gowns, the use of the more splendid vestments of the English Church. It was left for Archbishop Laud to bring all this slumbering discontent into action, by an attempt to introduce into the divine service of the Church of Scotland a form of Common Prayer and Liturgy, similar to that used in England. This was at variance with the character of Presbyterian worship, in which the clergyman always addressed the Deity in extemporaneous prayer, and in no prescribed or regular form of words. This new and most obnoxious change in the form of public worship throughout Scotland, where the nobility were known to be in a state of great discontent, was very ill timed. Right or wrong, the people in general were prejudiced against this innovation, in a matter so serious as the form of devotion; and yet, such a change was to be attempted, without any other authority than that of the king and the bishops; while both the Parliament and a General Assembly of the Church of Scotland had a right to be consulted in a matter so important. Nor is it less extraordinary that the government seems to have been totally unprovided with any sufficient force to overcome the opposition which was most certain to take place.

The rash and fatal experiment was made, 23rd July, 1637, in the High Church of St. Giles, Edinburgh, where the dean of the city prepared to read the new service before a numerous concourse of persons, none of whom seem to have been favourably disposed to its reception. As the reader of the prayers announced the Collect for the day, an old woman, named Jenny Geddes, who kept a green-stall in the High Street, bawled out, "False thief! dost thou say the mass at my lug?" With that she flung at the dean's head the stool upon which she had been sitting, and a wild tumult instantly commenced. The women of lower condition flew at the dean, tore the surplice from his shoulders, and drove him out of the church. The Bishop of Edinburgh mounted the pulpit, but he was also assailed with missiles, and with vehement exclamations of "A Pope! a Pope! Antichrist! pull him down, stone him!" while the windows were broken with

stones flung by a disorderly multitude from without. This was not all: the prelates were assaulted in the street, and abused by the mob. The life of the bishop was with difficulty saved by Lord Roxburghe, who carried him home in his carriage, surrounded by his retinue with drawn swords.

It was in vain that Charles sent down repeated and severe messages, blaming the Privy Council, the Magistrates, and all who did not punish the rioters, and enforce the reading of the service-book. The resistance to the measure, which was at first tumultuous, and the work of the lower orders, had now assumed quality and consistency. More than thirty peers, and a very great proportion of the gentry of Scotland, together with the greater part of the royal burghs, had, before the month of December, agreed not merely to oppose the service-book, but to act together in resisting the further intrusions of Prelacy. They were kept in union and directed by representatives appointed from among themselves, and forming separate committees, or, as they were termed, Tables or Boards of Management.

Under the auspices of these Tables, or committees, a species of engagement, or declaration, was drawn up, the principal object of which was the eradication of Prelacy in all its modifications, and the establishment of presbytery on its purest and most simple basis. This engagement was called the National Covenant. This covenant, which had for its object to annul all of prelatic innovation that James's policy, and his son's violence, had been able to introduce into the Presbyterian Church, was sworn to by hundreds of thousands, of every age and description, vowing with uplifted hands and weeping eyes, that they would dedicate life and fortune to maintain the object of their solemn engagement.

Meantime, while the king negotiated and procrastinated, Scotland, though still declaring attachment to his person, was nearly in a state of general resistance. The Covenanters, as they began to be called, held a general assembly of the church, at which the Marquis of Hamilton attended as lord commissioner for the king. This important meet-

ing was held at Glasgow. There all the measures pointed at by the covenant were carried fully into effect. Episcopacy was abolished, the existing bishops were deprived their power, and eight of them excommunicated for dilleged irregularities. The Covenanters took arms to support these bold measures. They recalled to Scotland numerous officers who had been trained in the wars of Germany, and committed the command of the whole to Alexander Leslie, a veteran general of skill and experience, who had possessed the friendship of Gustavus Adolphus.

King Charles, meantime, was preparing for the invasion of Scotland with a powerful army by land and sea. The fleet lay idle in the Frith of Forth, while Charles, in person, at the head of an army of twenty-three thousand men, gallantly equipped by the English nobility, set out as much determined upon the subjugation of his ancient kingdom of Scotland, as ever any of the Edward or Henrys of England had been. But the Scottish Covenanters showed the same determined spirit of resistance which, displayed by their ancestors, had frustrated many invasions, and it was now mingled with no less political discretion. They lay encamped on Dunse Law, where their camp was defended by forty field pieces, their army consisted of twenty-four or twenty-five thousand men. Charles's courage seemed to have failed at the idea of encountering a force so well provided, so enthusiastic, as that of the Covenanters, with a spirited army acting under divided councils. A treaty was entered into, though of an insecure character. Charles granted a declaration, in which, without confirming the acts of the assembly of Glasgow, which he would acknowledge as a lawful one, he agreed that all matters concerning the regulation of church government should be left to a new convocation of the church.

The general assembly of the church, convened according to the treaty, failed not to confirm all that had been done by their predecessors at Glasgow. The Scottish Parliament, on their part, demanded several privileges necessary, it was said, to freedom of debate, and required

the estates of the kingdom should be convened at least once every three years. On receiving these demands, Charles thought he beheld a formed scheme for undermining his royal authority, and prepared to renew the war.

On hearing that the king was again collecting his army, and had placed himself at its head, the Parliament of Scotland resolved on re-assembling theirs. It was done with such facility, and so speedily, that it was plain they had been, during the short suspension of arms, occupied in preparing for a new rupture. They did not now wait till the king should invade Scotland, but boldly crossed the Tweed, entered England, and advancing to the banks of the Tyne, found Lord Conway posted at Newburn with six thousand men, having batteries of cannon in his front, and prepared to dispute the passage of the river. On 28th August, 1640, the battle of Newburn was fought. The Scots, after silencing the artillery by their superior fire, entered the ford, girdle deep, and made their way across the river. The English fled with a speed and disorder unworthy of the national reputation.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CHARLES I. AND HIS ENGLISH PARLIAMENT—HE VISITS SCOTLAND—ENLISTS MONTROSE ON HIS SIDE—RUPTURE BETWEEN CHARLES AND HIS PARLIAMENT.—1640-1643.

MEANTIME, the growing discontent of his English subjects forced Charles again to call a parliament, notwithstanding his aversion to the representatives of the people, and his dread of their power and influence. Accordingly, the meeting of that celebrated body, called in English history the Long Parliament, took place on 3rd November, 1640. The majority of the members were disaffected towards the king's government, on account of his severity on matters of religion, and his tendency to despotism in

state affairs. The discontented formed a strong party, determined to diminish the royal authority, and reduce, if not altogether to destroy, the power of the church.

The king, thus circumstanced, was compelled to give way. The oppressive courts in which arbitrary proceedings had taken place were abolished; every means by which Charles had endeavoured to levy money without consent of Parliament, was declared unlawful; and it was provided that parliaments should be summoned every three years.

Thus the power of the king was reduced within the limits of the constitution; but Parliament was not satisfied with this general redress of grievances, though including all that had hitherto been openly complained of. A strong party among the members was determined to be satisfied with nothing short of the abolition of episcopacy in England as well as in Scotland; and many, who did not aim at that favourite object, entertained fears that if the king were left in possession of such powers as the constitution allowed him, he would find means of re-establishing and perpetuating the grievances which, for the time, he had consented to abolish.

Gratified with a donation of three hundred thousand pounds, given under the delicate name of brotherly assistance, the Scottish army at length retired homeward, and left the King and Parliament of England to settle their own affairs. The troops had scarcely returned to Scotland and disbanded, when Charles proposed to himself a visit to his native kingdom. He arrived in Scotland on the 12th of August, 1641. There can be little doubt that the purpose of this royal progress was to inquire closely into the causes which had enabled the Scottish nation, usually divided into factions and quarrels, to act with such unanimity, and to try whether it might not be possible for him to attach to his interest and person some of the principal leaders, and thus form a party who might not only prevent his English dominions from being again invaded by an army from Scotland, but might be disposed to serve him, in case he should come to an open rupture with his English Parliament. For

this purpose he dispensed dignities and gifts in Scotland with an unsparing hand ; made General Lesley Earl of Leven, raised the Lords Loudon and Lindsay to the same rank, and received into his administration several nobles who had been active in the late invasion of England. On most of these persons the king's benefits produced little effect. They considered him only as giving what, if he had only dared, he would have withheld. But Charles made a convert to his interests of one nobleman, whose character and actions have rendered him a memorable person in Scottish history. This was James Graham, Earl of Montrose.

On the return of Charles to London, the Parliament greeted him with a remonstrance, in which he was upbraided with all the real and supposed errors of his reign. At the same time a general disposition to tumult showed itself throughout the city. Great mobs of apprentices and citizens, not always of the lowest rank, came in tumult to Westminster under the pretence of petitioning the Houses of Parliament; and as they passed Whitehall, they insulted, with loud shouts, the guards and servants of the king. The parties soon came to blows, and blood was spilt between them. Party names, too, were assumed to distinguish the friends of the king from those who favoured the Parliament. The former were chiefly gay young men, who, according to the fashion of the times, wore showy dresses, and cultivated the growth of long hair, which, arranged in ringlets, fell over their shoulders. They were called Cavaliers. In distinction, those who adhered to the Parliament assumed, in their garb and deportment, a seriousness and gravity which rejected all ornament. They wore their hair cropped short around the head, and hence gained the name of Round-heads.

But it was the difference in their ideas of religion, or rather of church government, which chiefly widened the division betwixt the two parties. The king had been bred up to consider the preservation of the Church of England, and her hierarchy, as a sacred point of his royal duty, since he was recognised by the constitution as its

earthly head and superintendent. The Presbyterian tem, on the contrary, was espoused by a large prop of the Parliament; and they were, for the time, sec by the other numerous classes of dissenters, all of desired to see the destruction of the Church of Eng however unwilling they might be in their secret that a Presbyterian church government should be s in its stead.

While matters were in this state, the king comm a great imprudence. Having conceived that he acquired certain information that five of the le members of the House of Commons had been gui holding such intimate communication with the when in arms, as might establish a charge of treason against them, he formed the highly rash culpable intention of going to the House of Commc person, with an armed train of attendants, and ca the accused members to be arrested.

After this very rash step on the part of the king, chance of reconciliation seemed at an end. The Com rejected all amicable proposals, unless he would surr to them, for a time at least, the command of the m and that would have been equivalent to laying his c at their feet. The king refused to surrender the mand of the militia, even for an instant, and both p prepared to take up arms. Charles left London, v the power of the Parliament was predominant, asser what friends he could gather at Nottingham, and he the royal standard there, as the signal of civil w 25th August, 1642.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE SCOTTISH ARMY JOINS THAT OF THE ENGLISH PA
MENT—CAREER OF MONTROSE—BATTLE OF PE
HAUGH.—1643–1646.

IN 1643, when the advance of spring permitted th
sumption of hostilities, it was found that the state c

king's party was decidedly superior to that of the Parliament, and it was generally believed that the war would result in the royal favour, could the co-operation of the Scots be obtained. The king privately made favourable offers to the Scottish nation, to induce them to declare in his favour, or at least remain neutral in the struggle.

On the other hand, a deputation from Parliament pressed upon the Scottish convention a clause in the treaty of peace made in 1641, namely, that the Parliament of either country should send aid to the other to repel invasion or suppress internal disturbances. In compliance with this article, the English commissioners desired the assistance of a body of Scotch auxiliaries. They held out a bait which the convention found it impossible to resist. The commissioners proposed to join with the Scottish nation in a new edition of the Covenant, which had before proved such a happy bond of union among the Scots themselves. In this new bond of religious association, which was called the Solemn League and Covenant, it was provided that the church government of Scotland should be supported and maintained on its present footing.

The Solemn League and Covenant was sworn to in Scotland with general acclamation, and was received and adopted by the English Parliament with the same applause. The Scots proceeded, with eager haste, to send to the assistance of the Parliament of England a well-disciplined army of upwards of twenty thousand men, under the command of Alexander Leslie, Earl of Leven. Their presence contributed greatly to the decisive victory which the Parliamentary forces gained at Marston Moor; and, indeed, as was to be expected from their numbers and discipline, quickly served to give that party the preponderance in the field.

But while the Scottish auxiliaries were actively serving the common cause of the Parliament in England, the courageous and romantic enterprise of the Earl of Montrose, advanced by the king to the dignity of marquis, broke out in a train of successes, which threatened to throw Scotland itself into the hands of the king and his friends.

This nobleman's bold genius, when the Royalist party in Scotland seemed totally crushed and dispersed, devised the means of assembling them together, and of menacing the Convention of Estates with the destruction of their power.

Montrose, much inferior in numbers to his enemies, could not well form any fixed plan of operations. He resolved to make up for this, by moving with the most extraordinary celerity from one part of the country to another, so as to strike severe blows where they were least expected, and take the chance of awakening the drooping spirit of the Royalists. He therefore marched suddenly on Aberdeen, to endeavour to arouse the Gordons to arms, and defeat any body of Covenanters which might overawe the king's friends. In particular, he longed to strike a mighty blow at the Marquis of Argyle, to whom he owed an undying grudge. Consequently, while Argyle was at Inverary, enjoying the fancied security of his feudal dominions, he was astounded with the intelligence that Montrose, with an army of Highlanders, wading through drifts of snow, scaling precipices, and traversing the mountain paths, known to none save the solitary shepherd or huntsman, had forced an entry into Argyleshire, which he was laying waste with all the vindictive severity of deadly feud. Alarmed by this fierce and unexpected invasion, Argyle embarked on board a fishing-boat, and left his friends and followers to their fate. Montrose continued his ravages for nearly a month. He then withdrew towards Inverness, with the purpose of organizing a general gathering of the clans. But he had scarce made this movement, when he learned that his rival, Argyle, had returned to the Western Highlands with some Lowland forces, and was lying with a strong force near the old castle of Inverlochy, situated at the western extremity of the chain of lakes through which the Caledonian Canal is now conducted.

The news at once altered Montrose's plans. He returned upon Argyle by a succession of the most difficult mountain passes covered with snow; and the vanguard *of the Campbells* saw themselves suddenly engaged with

that of their implacable enemy. Montrose gained a complete victory, which greatly extended his influence over the Highlands, and in proportion diminished that of his discomfited rival.

Having collected what forces he could, Montrose now marched triumphantly to the north-east; and persuaded the Gordons to join him with a body of cavalry, commanded by their young chief, Lord Gordon. The Convention of Estates were now most seriously alarmed. While Montrose had roamed through the Highlands, his progress was regarded as a distant danger. But he was now threatening the low country, and the ruling party were not so confident of their strength there as to set so bold an adventurer at defiance. They called from the army in England General Baillie, an officer of skill and character, and Sir John Urry, a brave and good partisan, but a mere soldier of fortune.

Montrose skilfully eluded his pursuers, and baffled every attempt to bring him to action, until it suited himself to accept battle. Then he swept down on his opponents like a whirlwind, and no superiority of numbers availed them. In the battle of Aulderne, General Urry was completely overthrown, and compelled to unite his scattered forces with those of Baillie.

After some marching and counter-marching, the armies again found themselves in the neighbourhood of each other, near to the village of Alford. Here Montrose utterly destroyed the remnant of Baillie's army, though they defended themselves bravely. This battle was fought 2d July, 1645.

These repeated victories gave such lustre to Montrose's arms, that he was now joined by the Highland clans in great numbers, and by many of the Lowland anti-Covenanters, who had before held back, from doubt of his success in so unequal a contest.

On the other hand, the Convention of Estates, supported by the counsels of Argyle, who was bold in council though timid in battle, persevered in raising new troops, notwithstanding their repeated misfortunes and defeats.

Once again the hostile armies met, and his unfailing

fortune attended Montrose. At Kilsyth, the Covenanters were beaten off the field, and pursued with indiscriminate slaughter for more than ten miles. Four or five thousand men were slain in the field and in the flight; and the force of the Convention was for the time entirely broken.

Montrose was now master, for the moment, of the kingdom of Scotland. Edinburgh surrendered; Glasgow paid a heavy contribution; the noblemen and other individuals of distinction who had been imprisoned as Royalists in Edinburgh, and elsewhere throughout the kingdom, were set at liberty; and so many persons of quality now declared for Montrose, either from attachment to the royal cause, which they had hitherto concealed, or from the probability of its being ultimately successful, that he felt himself sufficiently strong to call a Parliament at Glasgow in the king's name. From the beginning of his extraordinary career, he had conceived the idea of leading his victorious army into England, and restoring Charles to his royal position and privileges. Impressed with such proud anticipations, he wrote to the king, urging him to advance to the northern border, and form a junction with his victorious army.

Meanwhile, the Scottish army in England received an account of the despair to which the battle of Kilsyth had reduced the Convention of Estates, and learned that several of its most distinguished members were already exiles, having fled to Berwick and other strong places on the Border, which were garrisoned by the Parliamentary forces. The importance of the crisis was felt, and David Leslie was despatched, at the head of five or six thousand men, chiefly cavalry, and the flower of the Scottish auxiliary army, with the charge of checking the triumphs of Montrose.

Leslie crossed the Border at Berwick, and proceeded on his march towards the metropolis, as if it had been his intention to get between Montrose and the Highlands, and to prevent his again receiving assistance from his faithful mountaineers. But that sagacious general's intentions were of a more decisive character; for, learning that *Montrose*, with his little army, lay quartered in profound

security near Selkirk, he suddenly altered his march, crossed the country to Middleton, and then turning southward, descended the vale of the Gala to Melrose, in which place, and the adjacent hamlets, he quartered his army for the night.

Montrose's infantry, meanwhile, lay encamped on an elevated ascent, called Philiphaugh, on the left bank of the Ettrick, while his cavalry, with their distinguished general in person, were quartered in the town of Selkirk; a considerable stream being thus interposed betwixt the two parts of his army, which should have been so stationed as to be ready to support each other on a sudden alarm. But Montrose had no information of the vicinity of Leslie, though the Covenanters had passed the night within four miles of his camp.

On the morning of the 13th September, 1645, Leslie, under cover of a thick mist, approached Montrose's camp, and had the merit, by his dexterity and vigilance, of surprising him whom his enemies had never before found unprepared. The covenanting general divided his troops into two divisions, and attacked both flanks of the enemy at the same time. Those on the left made but a feeble resistance; the right wing, sheltered by a wood, fought in a manner worthy of their general's fame. Montrose himself, roused by the firing and noise of the action, hastily assembled his cavalry, crossed the Ettrick, and made a desperate attempt to recover the victory, omitting nothing which courage or skill could achieve, to rally his followers. But when at length left with only thirty horse, he was compelled to fly, and, retreating up the Yarrow, crossed into the Vale of Tweed, and reached Peebles, where some of his followers joined him.

Montrose, after this disastrous action, retreated again into the Highlands, where he once more assembled an army of mountaineers. But his movements had ceased to excite anxiety after the spell of invincibility had been broken at Philiphaugh.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CHARLES SURRENDERS HIMSELF TO THE SCOTTISH ARMY—
HE IS HANDED OVER TO THE ENGLISH — HIS TRIAL
AND EXECUTION.—1646-1649.

MEANTIME, in England, the troops of the king sustained various checks, and at length a total defeat in the battle of Naseby, from the effects of which the affairs of Charles could never recover. The successes of Montrose had excited a gleam of hope which disappeared after his defeat at Philiphaugh. Finally, King Charles was shut up in the city of Oxford, which had adhered to his cause with the most devoted loyalty; the last army which he had in the field was destroyed; and he had no alternative but to remain in Oxford till he should be taken prisoner, to surrender himself to his enemies, or to escape abroad.

Charles determined to surrender himself to that Scottish army which had been sent into England, under the Earl of Leven, as auxiliaries of the English Parliament. The king concluded that he might expect personal protection, if not assistance, from an army composed of his own countrymen.

He left Oxford in disguise on the 27th April, 1646, having only two attendants. Nine days after his departure, he surprised the old Earl of Leven and the Scottish camp, who were then prosecuting the siege of Newark, by delivering himself into their hands. The Scots received the unfortunate monarch with great outward respect, but guarded his person with vigilance. They immediately broke up the siege, and marched with great speed to the north, carrying the king along with them, and observing the strictest discipline on their retreat. When their army arrived at Newcastle, they halted to await the progress of negotiations at this singular crisis.

Upon surrendering himself to the Scottish army, King Charles had despatched a message to that effect to the Parliament, and desiring that they would send him *such articles of pacification as they should agree upon,*

He offered to surrender Oxford, Newark, and whatever other garrisons or strong places he might still possess, and order the troops he had on foot to lay down their arms. The places were surrendered accordingly, honourable terms being allowed; and the army of Montrose in the Highlands, and such other forces as the Royalists still maintained throughout England, were disbanded by the king's command.

The Parliament showed great moderation, and the civil war seemed to be ended. The articles of pacification which they offered were not more rigorous than the desperate condition of the king must have taught him to expect. But questions of religion interfered to prevent the conclusion of the treaty.

In proportion as the great majority of the Parliament were attached to the Presbyterian forms, Charles was devoted to the system of Episcopacy. He deemed himself bound by his coronation oath to support the Church of England, and he would not purchase his restoration to the throne by consenting to its being set aside. Here, therefore, the negotiations betwixt the king and his Parliament were broken off; but others were opened between the English Parliament and the Scottish army, concerning the disposal of the king's person.

If Charles could have brought his mind to consent to the acceptance of the Solemn League and Covenant, it is probable that he would have gained all Scotland to his side. This, however, would have been granting to the Scots what he had refused to the Parliament; for the support of presbytery was the essential object of the Scottish invasion. On the other hand, it could hardly be expected that the Scottish Convention of Estates should resign the very point on which it had begun and continued the war. The Church of Scotland sent forth a solemn warning, that all engagement with the king was unlawful. The question, therefore, was, what should be done with the person of Charles.

The Scottish army had a long arrear of pay due to them from the English Parliament, which the latter had refused, or at least delayed, to pay. A treaty for the

settlement of these arrears had been set on foot; and it had been agreed that the Scottish forces should retreat into their own country, upon payment of two hundred thousand pounds, which was one-half of the debt finally admitted.

The Scottish army surrendered the person of Charles to the Commissioners for the English Parliament, on receiving security for their arrears of pay, and immediately evacuated Newcastle and marched for their own country.

Oliver Cromwell, and others of the leading men in the army of the Parliament, feeling that no reliance could be placed on any promises or pledges which the misfortunes of Charles might wring from him, resolved to dethrone, and put him to death. There were some, indeed, who thought that his death was essential to their personal safety. There was, accordingly, a general unanimity on the part of the victors to have Charles executed.

The pretext for carrying their purpose into effect was, that he had levied war against his people to subject them to unlawful authority. If this had been true, in point of fact, it was no ground of charge against Charles in point of law; for the constitution of England declares that the king can do no wrong, that is, cannot be made responsible for any wrong which he does.

But in fact the king had not taken arms against the Parliament to gain any *new* and extraordinary extent of power. It is no doubt true that the Parliament, when summoned together, had many just grievances to complain of; but these were not, in general, innovations of Charles, but such exercise of power as had been customary in the four last reigns, when the crown of England had been freed from the restraint of the barons, without being sufficiently subjected to the control of the House of Commons, representing the people at large.

The High Court of Justice, nevertheless, was opened, and the king was brought to the bar on the 19th January, 1649. Charles behaved throughout the whole of the trying scene with the utmost dignity. He bore, without *complaint*, the reproaches showered on him by the riotous

soldiery; and when a ruffian spat in his face, the captive monarch wiped it off with his handkerchief, and only said, "Poor creatures! for half a crown they would do the same to their father."

The king, when placed at the bar, looked around on the awful preparations for trial, on the bench, crowded with avowed enemies, and displaying, what was still more painful, the faces of one or two ungrateful friends, without losing his steady composure. When the public accuser began to speak, he touched him with his staff, and sternly admonished him to forbear. He afterwards displayed both talent and boldness in his own defence. He disowned the authority of the novel and incompetent court before which he was placed; reminded those who sat as his judges, that he was their lawful king, answerable indeed to God for the use of his power, but declared by the constitution incapable of doing wrong. Even if the authority of the people were sufficient to place him before the bar, he denied that such authority had been obtained. The act of violence, he stated, was the deed, not of the English nation, but of a few daring men, who had violated, by military force, the freedom of the House of Commons, and altogether destroyed and abolished the House of Peers. He declared that he spoke not for himself, but for the sake of the laws and liberties of England.

Though repeatedly interrupted by Bradshaw, the president of the pretended High Court of Justice, Charles pronounced his defence in a manly, yet temperate manner. Being then three times called on to answer to the charge, he as often declined the jurisdiction of the court. Sentence of death was then pronounced.

On the 30th January, 1649, Charles I. was brought forth through one of the windows of the banqueting house at Whitehall, upon a large scaffold hung with black, and closely surrounded with guards. Two executioners in masks attended, beside a block and cushion. Juxon, a bishop of the Church of England, assisted the king's devotions. As Charles laid his head on the block, he addressed to the bishop, emphatically, the word *remember*, and then gave the signal for the fatal stroke. One executioner

struck the head from the shoulders at a single blow; the other held it up, and proclaimed it the head of a traitor. The soldiers shouted in triumph, but the multitude generally burst into tears and lamentations.

This tragic spectacle was far from accomplishing the purpose intended by those who had designed it. On the contrary, the king's serene behaviour at his trial and execution excited the sympathy and sorrow of many who had been his enemies when in power; the injustice and brutality which he bore with so much dignity, wiped out the remembrance of the errors of which he had been guilty; and the almost universal sense of the iniquity of his sentence, was a principal cause of the subsequent restoration of his family to the throne.

CHAPTER XXIX.

DUPLICITY OF CHARLES II.—END OF MONTROSE—INVASION OF SCOTLAND BY OLIVER CROMWELL — BATTLE OF DUNBAR—DEFEAT AT WORCESTER.—1649-1651.

THE death of Charles I. was nowhere more deeply resented than in Scotland; and the national pride of the Scots was the more hurt, that they could not but be conscious that the surrender of his person by their army at Newcastle, was the event which contributed immediately to place him in the hands of his enemies.

The Scottish Parliament met, and resolved to proclaim Charles II. their lawful sovereign; but, at the same time, not to admit him to the actual power, until he should give security for the religion, unity, and peace of the kingdoms. Commissioners were sent to wait upon Charles, who had retreated to the Continent, in order to offer him the throne of Scotland on these terms.

The young prince had already around him counsellors of a different character. The celebrated Marquis of Montrose, and other Scottish nobles, few in number, but *animated* by their leader's courage and zeal, advised him

to reject the proposal of the Presbyterians to recall him to the regal dignity on such conditions, and offered their swords and lives to place him on the throne by force of arms.

It appears that Charles II., who never had any deep sense of integrity, was willing to treat with both of these parties at one and the same time; and that he granted a commission to the marquis to attempt a descent on Scotland, taking the chance of what might be accomplished by his far-famed fortune and dauntless enterprise, while he kept a negotiation afloat with the Presbyterian commissioners in case of Montrose's failure.

That intrepid but rash enthusiast embarked at Hamburg with some arms and treasure, supplied by the northern courts of Europe. His fame drew around him a few of the emigrant Royalists, chiefly Scottish, and he recruited about six hundred German mercenaries. After fruitless exertions in Scotland, he was surprised by General Strachan, at Invercarron, in Ross-shire, where his little army was completely defeated, and he only saved himself by swimming across the Kyle of Sutherland. Exhausted with fatigue and hunger, he was at length taken by MacLeod of Assynt, who happened to be out with a party of his men in arms. The marquis discovered himself to this man, thinking himself secure of favour, since Assynt had been once his own follower. But tempted by a reward of four hundred bolls of meal, this chief delivered his old commander into the hands of David Leslie. He was executed at Edinburgh on the 21st of May, 1650.

During these events, the commissioners of the Scottish Parliament continued to carry on the treaty with Charles II. He had nearly broken it off, when Montrose's execution was reported to him; but a sense of his own duplicity in maintaining a treaty with the Parliament, while he gave Montrose a commission to invade and make war on them, smothered his complaints on the subject. At length Charles, seeing no other resource, agreed to accept the crown of Scotland on the terms offered, which were those of the *most absolute* compliance with the will of the Scot

tish Parliament in civil affairs, and with the pleasure of the General Assembly of the Kirk in ecclesiastical concerns. Above all, the young king promised to take upon him the obligations of the Solemn League and Covenant, and to further them by every means in his power. On these conditions the treaty was concluded; Charles sailed from Holland, and arriving on the coast of Scotland, landed near the mouth of the river Spey, and advanced to Stirling.

Argyle and his friends received the young king with all the outward marks of profound respect; but took care to give him his own will in no one particular. The clergy beset him with exhortations and sermons, choosing frequently for their themes the sins of his father, the idolatry of his mother, and what they frankly termed his own ill-disguised disposition to malignity. These ill-timed and ill-judged admonitions were so often repeated, as to impress on the young king's mind a feeling of dislike and disgust, with which he remembered the Presbyterian preachers and their doctrines as long as he lived.

Meantime, England had totally changed its outward constitution. Oliver Cromwell was in possession of the supreme power, and he was fully resolved to make his influence felt at home and abroad.

The new Commonwealth had no intention that the son of the king whom they had put to death should be suffered to establish himself quietly in Scotland, and enjoy the power, when opportunity offered, of again calling to arms his numerous adherents in England, and disturbing, or perhaps destroying, their new-modelled republic. They were resolved to prevent this danger by making war on Scotland, while still weakened by her domestic dissensions; and compelling her to adopt the constitution of a republic, and to become confederated with their own. This proposal was of course haughtily rejected by the Scots. The ruling parties of both nations, therefore, prepared for the war.

Early in the summer of 1650, Cromwell invaded Scotland, at the head of his veteran and well-disciplined troops, and marched to Edinburgh without interruption. *There, however, he was so completely baffled by General*

Leslie, that he was reluctantly obliged to fall back on Dunbar. Leslie immediately pursued, with the object of intercepting the retreat of the English. Moving by a shorter line than Cromwell, who was obliged to keep the coast, he took possession with his army of the skirts of the Lammermoors, a ridge of hills terminating on the sea near the town of Dunbar, and abounding with difficult passes, all of which he occupied strongly. Here he proposed to await the attack of the English, with every chance of gaining a great and decisive victory.

Cromwell was reduced to much perplexity. He entertained thoughts of embarking his infantry on board of the ships, and cutting his own way to England as he best could, at the head of his cavalry.

At this moment, the interference of the Presbyterian preachers, and the influence which they possessed over the Scottish army and its general, ruined this fair promise of success. In spite of all the prudent remonstrances of Leslie, they insisted that the Scottish army should be led from their strong position to attack the English.

Cromwell, when he received news that the Scots were leaving their fastnesses and about to hazard a battle on the level plain, exclaimed "that God had delivered them into his hands;" and, calling for his horse, placed himself at the head of his troops.

His hopes did not deceive him. The hastily-raised Scottish levies thus rashly opposed to the veteran soldiers of the English commander, proved unequal to the shock. Great slaughter ensued, and many prisoners were made, whom they transported to the English settlements in America, and there sold for slaves.

While the south of Scotland was overawed by Cromwell, the Scottish Parliament, though retired beyond the Forth, still maintained a show of decided opposition. They resolved upon the coronation of Charles, a ceremony hitherto deferred, but which they determined now to perform, as a solemn pledge of their resolution to support the constitution and religion of Scotland to the last.

Charles, in the meantime, was not unmindful of the foe that was ravaging Scotland; and having resumed the

command of the army in person, he took up an unsailable position near Stirling, and there awaited the arrival of the English. Cromwell approached, but could neither with prudence attack the Scots in their lines, nor find means of inducing them to hazard a battle. After the armies had confronted each other for more than a month, Cromwell despatched Colonel Overton into Fife, to turn the left flank of the Scottish army, and intercept their supplies.

The situation of the main Scottish army, which was under Charles in person, now became hazardous and precarious by the presence of the English in the counties of Fife and Kinross, which enabled them to intercept the king's supplies and communications from the north. In this distressed situation Charles adopted a bold and decisive measure. He resolved to transfer the war from Scotland to England, and, suddenly raising his camp, he moved to the south-westward by rapid marches, hoping to rouse his friends in England to arms before Cromwell could overtake him. But the cavaliers in England were now broken and dispirited, and were, besides, altogether unprepared for this hasty invasion, which seemed rather the effect of despair than the result of deliberate and settled resolution.

Cromwell followed close in his rear, and at the city of Worcester attacked the Royalists with double the number of their forces on the 3rd of September, 1651. Three thousand of them were slain in the field, ten thousand were taken, and such of them as survived their wounds and the horrors of the overcrowded jails, were shipped off to the plantations as slaves.

Charles, after beholding the ruin of his cause, and having given sufficient proofs of personal valour, escaped from the field, and concealed himself in obscure retreats, under various disguises. After infinite fatigue, many romantic adventures, and the most imminent risks of discovery, he at length escaped by sea, and for eight years continued to wander from one foreign court to another, a poor, neglected, and insulted adventurer, the claimant of *thrones* which he seemed destined never to possess.

The defeat of Worcester was a deathblow to the resistance of the king's party in Scotland. The Parliament, driven from Stirling to the Highlands, endeavoured in vain to assemble new forces. The English troops, under General Monk, who was left by Cromwell to overawe the country, were everywhere victorious; and it seemed as if Scotland could never again recover from the effects of the English dominion.

CHAPTER XXX.

RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.—HIS CHARACTER—MEASURES AGAINST SCOTLAND.—1658–1685.

ON the death of Oliver Cromwell, in 1658, General Monk marched with a considerable force into England; and after keeping both countries for a considerable time in the most intense anxiety as to his object and intentions, he at length, to the satisfaction of all concerned, declared for Charles II.

The republic had not generally answered the expectations of the English, who were now quite ready to welcome back the monarchy. There was, therefore, great rejoicing when the king landed at Dover on the 26th May, 1660, and was received by General Monk, now gratified and honoured with the dukedom of Albemarle, the order of the Garter, and the command of the army. He entered London on the 29th, which was also his birthday; and with him came his two brothers, James Duke of York, and the Duke of Gloucester, who died early. They were received with such extravagant shouts of welcome that the king said to those around him, "It must surely have been our own fault that we have been so long absent from a country where every one seems so glad to see us."

Charles the Second was a prince of an excellent understanding, a graceful address, much ready wit, and no deficiency of courage. Unfortunately, he was very fond of pleasure, and, in his zeal to pursue it, habitually

neglected the interests of his kingdom; and he seems to have cared little what became of friends or enemies, provided he could maintain himself on the throne, get money to supply the expenses of a luxurious and dissolute court, and enjoy a life of ease and dishonourable pleasure. He was good-natured in general; but any apprehension of his own safety easily induced him to be severe and even cruel, for his love of self predominated above both his sense of justice and his natural clemency of temper. He was always willing to sacrifice sincerity to convenience, and, perhaps, the satirical epitaph, written upon him at his own request, by his witty favourite, the Earl of Rochester, is not more severe than just—

Here lies our sovereign lord the king,
Whose word no man relies on,
Who never said a foolish thing,
And never did a wise one.

The restoration was celebrated with the same general and joyful assent in Scotland which had hailed it in the sister country. Indeed, the Scots, during the whole war, can hardly be said to have quitted their sentiments of loyalty to the monarchy. They had fought against Charles I. to establish Presbytery; but even the most rigid of the Presbyterians had united in the resistance to the English invasion, had owned the right of Charles the Second, and asserted it to their severe national loss at the battle of Dunbar.

Scottish loyalty and devotion to the king were, however, destined to be speedily converted into fear and hatred. In revenge for his opposition to the king's father, the Marquis of Argyll was, along with others, put to death, to the indignation of the Covenanters, who boded no good from such a beginning. Too soon their worst anticipations were realised. A general act of uniformity was passed for enforcing the observances of the Episcopal Church, and it was followed up by an order of council of the most violent character. This furious mandate commanded that all ministers who had not received a presentation from their lay patrons, and spiritual induction into their livings *from the prelates*, should be removed from them by mili-

tary force, if necessary. All their parishioners were prohibited from attending upon the ministry of such nonconformists, or acknowledging them as clergymen. This was at one stroke displacing all Presbyterian ministers who might scruple at once to become Episcopalians.

In 1662, about 350 ministers resigned their churches without hesitation, and determined to submit to the last extremity of poverty, rather than enjoy comfort at the price of renouncing the tenets of their church.

It was not in nature that their congregations should have seen them with indifference suddenly reduced from decent comfort to indigence, and submitting to it with patience, rather than sacrifice their conscientious scruples to their interest. Accordingly, they showed, in almost every case, the deepest sympathy with the distresses of their pastors, and corresponding indignation against the proceedings of the government.

The cause also for which the clergy suffered was not indifferent to the laity. It is true, the consequences of the Solemn League and Covenant had been so fatal, that at the time of the Restoration none but a few high-flying and rigid Presbyterians would have desired the re-establishment of that celebrated engagement. But there was great difference between suffering the Covenant to fall into neglect, and in complying with the government by ridiculing as absurd, and renouncing as odious, a document which had been once so much respected.

The Parliament, however, commanded the Solemn League and Covenant to be burned at the Cross of Edinburgh, and elsewhere, with every mark of dishonour.

The oaths, also, which imposed on every person in public office the duty of renouncing the Covenant, as an unlawful engagement, were distressing to the consciences of many; and, in general, the efforts made to render the Covenant odious and contemptible, rather revived its decaying interest with the Scottish public.

There was yet another aggravation of the evils consequent on the expulsion of the Presbyterian clergy. So many pulpits became vacant at once, that the prelates had no means of filling them up with suitable persons,

whose talents and influence might have supplied the place of the exiled preachers.

The natural consequences of all these adverse circumstances were, that the Presbyterian congregations withdrew themselves in numbers from the parish churches, and, seeking out their ancient preachers in the obscurity to which they had retired, begged and received from them the religious instruction which the deprived clergymen still thought it their duty to impart to those who needed and desired it, in despite of the additional severities imposed by the government upon their doing so.

The Episcopal Church Courts took upon them to find a remedy for the defection occasioned by the scruples of the people. These oppressive ecclesiastical courts were held wherever there was a complaint of nonconformity; and they employed all the rigours of long imprisonment, heavy fines, and corporal punishment, upon those who either abandoned the worship of their own parish church, or went to hear the doctrine of the Presbyterian clergy, whose private meetings for worship were termed conventicles.

These conventicles were at first held in private houses, barns, or other buildings, as was the case in England, where, though in a much more moderate degree, and by milder measures, the general conformity of the church was also enforced. But as such meetings, especially if numerous, were liable to be discovered and intruded upon by peace-officers and soldiers, who dispersed them rudely, sometimes plundering the men of their purses, and the women of their cloaks and plaids, the Scottish Presbyterians had recourse to an expedient of safety, suggested by the wild character of their country, and held these forbidden meetings in the open air, remote alike from observation and interruption, in wild, solitary, and mountainous places, where it was neither easy to find them, nor safe to disturb them, unless the force which assailed the congregation was considerable.

Archbishop Sharpe of St. Andrews, having become peculiarly obnoxious to the nation on account of his *relentless* persecution of all who countenanced these

clandestine meetings, was murdered, in 1679, by a band of desperate men on the public road, at a place called Magus Moor, in Fife. The foolishness, as well as the criminality, of this deed soon became apparent, in the greater cruelties inflicted on innocent persons everywhere.

The Scottish government, which the Archbishop's death had alarmed and irritated in the highest degree, used the utmost exertions to apprehend his murderers; and failing that, to disperse and subdue, by an extremity of violence greater than what had been hitherto employed, every assembly of armed Covenanters. All attendance upon field-conventicles was declared treason; new troops were raised, and the strictest orders sent to the commanding officers to act against nonconformists with the utmost rigour. On the other hand, the intercommuned persons, now grown desperate, assembled in more numerous and better armed parties, and many of them showed a general purpose of defiance and rebellion against the king's authority, which the moderate party continued to acknowledge, as being that of the supreme civil magistrate. These circumstances soon led to a crisis.

John Graham of Claverhouse had been singularly active against the nonconformists. Learning that a large number of them were assembled at Loudon Hill, he immediately set out in pursuit, and soon came up with them. Here he was opposed by a large body in point of numbers, but very indifferently armed, though there were about fifty horse tolerably appointed, as many infantry with guns, and a number of men armed with scythes, forks, pikes, and halberds. The immediate spot on which the parties met was called Drumclog. It is a boggy piece of ground, unfit for cavalry, and a broad drain, or ditch, seems also to have given the insurgents considerable advantage. After a good deal of hard fighting, the dragoons were forced to fly.

About thirty of the defeated party were slain, or died of their wounds. An officer of the name of Graham, a kinsman of Claverhouse, was among the slain. His body, mistaken, it is reported, for that of his namesake, was pitifully mangled. Claverhouse's own horse was laid

open by the blow of a scythe, and was scarcely able to bear him off the field of battle.

After having gained this victory, the insurgents resolved to keep the field, and take such future fortune as Heaven should send them. They marched to Hamilton after the action, and the next day, strongly reinforced by the numbers which joined them on all sides, they proceeded to attack the town of Glasgow, which Claverhouse judged it necessary to evacuate, and marched eastwards, leaving all the west at the mercy of the rebels.

But when the news of the insurrection reached London, Charles II., employing for a season his own good judgment, which he too often yielded to the management of others, seems to have formed an idea of conciliating the rebels, as well as of subduing them. For this purpose, he sent to Scotland, as commander-in-chief, his natural son, James, Duke of Monmouth, at the head of a large body of the royal guards. This young nobleman was the king's favourite, both from the extreme beauty of his person, and the amiableness of his disposition. Charles had taken care of his fortune, by uniting him with the heiress of the great family of Buccleuch, whose large estates are still enjoyed by their descendants. Wealthy, popular, and his father's favourite, the Duke of Monmouth had been encouraged to oppose his own court influence to that of the king's brother, the Duke of York; and as the latter had declared himself a Roman Catholic, so Monmouth, to mark the distinction betwixt them, was supposed to be favourable to Presbyterians, as well as dissenters of any sect, and was popularly called the Protestant Duke. It was naturally supposed that, having such inclinations, he was entrusted with some powers favourable to the insurgents.

These unfortunate persons, having spent a great deal of time in debating upon church polemics, lost sight of the necessity of disciplining their army, or supplying it with provisions, and were lying in the vicinity of the town of Hamilton, while numbers, despairing of their success, were every day deserting them. On the 21st of *June, 1679*, they were alarmed by the intelligence that the

Duke of Monmouth was advancing at the head of a well-disciplined army.

The insurgents were well posted for defence. They had in front the Clyde, a deep river, not easily fordable, and only to be crossed by Bothwell Bridge, which gives name to the battle. This is (or rather was, for though it still exists, it is now much altered) a high, steep, and narrow bridge, having a portal, or gateway in the centre, which the insurgents had shut and barricaded. About three hundred men were stationed to defend this important pass. They behaved well until the soldiers of Monmouth forced the pass at the point of the bayonet. The insurgents then gave way, and the royal army advanced towards the main body, who, according to the historian Burnet, seem neither to have had the grace to submit, the courage to fight, nor the sense to run away.

The gentle-tempered Duke of Monmouth gave strict orders to afford quarter to all who asked it, and to make prisoners, but spare lives. Considerable slaughter, it is said, took place, notwithstanding his orders, partly owing to the unrelenting temper of Claverhouse, who was burning to obtain vengeance for the defeat of Drumclog, and the death of his kinsman, who was slain there, and partly to the fury of the English soldiers and the Scottish Highlanders, who distinguished themselves by their cruelty.

Four hundred men were killed at the battle of Bothwell Bridge, and about twelve hundred made prisoners. These last were marched to Edinburgh, and imprisoned in the Greyfriars' churchyard, like cattle in a penfold, while several ministers and others were selected for execution. The rest, after long confinement there, and without any shelter save two or three miserable sheds, and such as they found in the tombs, were dismissed, upon giving bonds for conformity in future; the more obstinate were sent as slaves to the plantations. Many of the last were lost at sea. And yet, notwithstanding these disasters, the more remote consequences of the battle of Bothwell Bridge were even more calamitous than those which were direct and immediate.

CHAPTER XXXI.

ACCESSION OF JAMES VII.—PRINCE OF ORANGE—JAMES ATTEMPTS TO RESTORE THE CATHOLIC CHURCH—THE RESULTS.—1685-1688.

ON the death of Charles II., which occurred on the 6th February, 1685, his brother, the Duke of York, ascended the throne as James II. of England and James VII. of Scotland. His eldest daughter, Mary, was married to William, Prince of Orange, a man of great wisdom, sense, and courage, distinguished by the share he had taken in opposing the ambition of France. He was now next heir to the crown of England, unless the king, his father-in-law, should have a surviving son by his present queen, Mary of Este. It was natural to conclude that the Prince of Orange viewed with the most intense interest the various revolutions and changes which took place in a kingdom where he possessed so deep a stake. It did not escape remark, that the Duke of Monmouth, the Earl of Argyle, and others, who were compelled to fly from England or Scotland, seemed to find support, as well as refuge, in Holland. On this subject James made several remonstrances to his son-in-law, which the prince evaded, by alleging that a free state, like the Dutch republic, could not shut its ports against fugitives, of whatever description; and with such excuses James was obliged to remain satisfied. Nevertheless, the enemies of the monarch were so completely subdued, both in Scotland and England, that no prince in Europe seemed more firmly seated upon his throne.

The ill-directed expeditions of Monmouth and Argyle, the one against the authority of the king in England, and the other in Scotland, only tended, by their disastrous failure, to strengthen the royal power; and the more emphatically to mark the failure of these invasions, and the fate of their leaders, who were beheaded, James had two medals struck, which bore, on the one side, two severed heads, and, on the other, two headless trunks.

The part of the nation which inclined to support the side of the king in all political discussions, now obtained a complete superiority over the rest. They were known by the name of Tories, an appellation borrowed from Ireland, where the irregular and desultory bands, which maintained a sort of skirmishing warfare after Cromwell had suppressed every national and united effort, were so called. Like the opposite term of Whig, Tory was at first used as an epithet of scorn and ridicule, and both were at length adopted as party distinctions, coming in place of those which had been used during the civil war, the word Tory superseding the term Cavalier, and Whig being applied instead of Roundhead. The same terms of distinction have descended to our time, and mark the two great political parties of the state.

James II. was unquestionably desirous of power; yet such was the readiness with which courts of justice placed at his feet the persons and property of his subjects, and so great the zeal with which many of the clergy were disposed to exalt his authority into something of a sacred character, accountable for his actions to Heaven alone, that it must have seemed impossible for him to form any demand for an extension of authority which would not have been readily conceded to him on the slightest hint of his pleasure. But it was the misfortune of this monarch to conceive, that the same sophistry by which divines and lawyers placed the property and personal freedom of his subjects at his unlimited disposal, extended his power over the freedom of their consciences also.

James was strongly attached to the Catholic religion, and fully resolved, at all hazards, to have it re-established in England. With this view, he entered into negotiations with the Vatican, and spared no pains at home to pave the way for his intended changes. But he speedily discovered that, however much the nation might be disposed to submit to his will in matters secular, there was a limit to willing obedience whenever he attempted to enforce compliance with unacceptable religious views. But the king appeared to be incapable of appreciating the force of will which his proposed changes were destined to

incite, and blindly pursued his revolutionary course, in the face of unmistakable indications of national revolt.

During all this course of maladministration, the sensible and prudent part of the nation kept their eyes fixed on William Prince of Orange, heir to the throne.

The prince observed great caution in his communications with the numerous and various factions in England and Scotland; and even to those who expressed the greatest moderation and the purest sentiments of patriotism, he replied with a prudent reserve, exhorting them to patience, dissuading all from hasty insurrections, and pointing out to them, that the death of the king must put an end to the innovation which he was attempting on the constitution.

But an event took place which entirely altered the Prince of Orange's views and feelings, and forced him upon an enterprise, one of the most remarkable in its progress and consequences of any which the history of the world affords. Mary, Queen of England, and wife of James II., was delivered of a male child on the 10th June, 1688. The Prince of Orange, seeing himself, by the birth and rights of this infant, excluded from the long-hoped-for succession to the crown of England, laid aside his caution, with the purpose of taking a bold and active interference in British politics.

Under various plausible pretexts, he began to assemble a navy and army adequate to the bold invasion which he meditated; while neither the warning of the King of France, who penetrated the purpose of these preparations, nor a sense of the condition in which he himself stood, could induce James to take any adequate measures of defence.

While vainly attempting to ensure the adhesion of his army to his interests, he suddenly received intelligence from his ambassador in Holland, that the Prince of Orange was about to put to sea with an army of fifteen thousand men, supplied by the States of Holland, and a fleet of five hundred sail.

Conscious that he had lost the best safeguard of a *monarch*—namely, the love and affections of his subjects

—this news came upon James like a thunder-clap. He hastened to retract all the measures which had rendered his reign so unpopular; but it was with a precipitation which showed fear, not conviction, and the people were persuaded that the concessions would be recalled as soon as the danger was over.

In this crisis, James solicited aid from Scotland, and an attempt was immediately made to furnish him with troops; but the heart of the nation was not favourable to his cause, and his adherents found it impossible to give him effectual aid.

The landing of the Prince of Orange, at Torbay, in Devonshire, on the 5th November, 1688, was the signal for a general desertion of the king and his cause; and, in a very short time, it became evident, even to James himself, that his only hope was in flight.

Ultimately, he escaped to France, where he passed the remainder of his days. A strong feeling of compassion towards the exiled monarch grew up in the minds of many of his Scotch subjects, and an influential party, devoted to the interests of his family, took definite shape and form with the advent of William and Mary, as the new king and queen were designated. This party took the name of Jacobites, and they were destined to play a very conspicuous part in the subsequent history of Scotland.

The Jacobites, chiefly belonging by birth to the aristocracy, forgot James' errors in his misfortunes, or indulgently ascribed them to a few bigoted and selfish counsellors, by whom, they were compelled to admit, the royal ear had been too exclusively possessed. They saw, in their now aged monarch, the son of the venerated martyr, Charles I., whose memory was so dear to them, and the descendant of the hundred princes who had occupied the Scottish throne, according to popular belief, for a thousand years, and under whom their ancestors had acquired their fortunes, their titles, and their fame. James himself, whatever were the political errors of his reign, had been able to attach to himself individually, many both of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, who regretted him

as a friend as well as a sovereign, and recollected the familiarity with which he could temper his stately courtesy, and the favours which many had personally received from him. The compassion due to fallen majesty was in this case enhanced, when it was considered that James was to be uncrowned in order that the Prince and Princess of Orange, his son-in-law and daughter, might be raised to the throne in his stead, a measure too contrary to the ordinary feelings of nature not to create some disgust.

The Scotch Convention, in the meantime, almost entirely freed from opposition within their own assembly, proceeded to determine the great national question arising out of the change of government. Two letters were presented to them, one from King James, the other on the part of the Prince of Orange. They opened and read the latter with much reverence, while they passed over with little notice that of his father-in-law, intimating by this that they no longer regarded him as a sovereign; and, soon after, in imitation of England, the crown of Scotland was settled, 11th April, 1689, upon the Prince and Princess of Orange.

When the crown was thus settled, the convention entered into a long declaration, called the *Claim of Rights*, which set forth the misdeeds of the last two reigns, and asserted the just claims and rights of the nation. The new sovereigns formally recognised the justice of this declaration, and were considering the mode, and selecting the council by which they proposed to govern Scotland, when an insurrection took place by means of which the sceptre of that kingdom was wellnigh wrested from their gripe. This was brought about by the exertions of the Viscount Dundee, one of those extraordinary persons by whose energies great national revolutions are sometimes wrought with the assistance of very small means.

CHAPTER XXXII.

VISCOUNT DUNDEE—BATTLE OF KILLIECRANKIE—
MASSACRE OF GLENCOE.

THE Jacobite spirit was strong in Scotland, and it appeared to Dundee that the friends of King James only required a skilful, determined leader, to restore the exiled monarch to his crown and kingdom. Raising the standard of revolt, he summoned to his aid the discontented of all parties; but his main reliance was on the Highland chieftains, in whose loyalty to James and regard to the house of Stuart he could place the most implicit trust. For a time Dundee appeared to be in a fair way to realise his most sanguine expectations. Everywhere success attended his efforts in behalf of James. At length, however, 17th June, 1689, in the midst of a splendid victory gained over the king's forces, under General Mackay, in



PASS OF KILLIECRANKIE.

the pass of Killiecrankie, he fell mortally wounded, and with his fall the cause of James was practically lost, though it was impossible for a victory to be more com-

plete. The cannon, baggage, and stores of MacKay's army fell into their hands. The two regiments which kept their ground suffered so much in their attempt to retreat through the pass, now occupied by the Athole-men in their rear, that they might be considered as destroyed. Two thousand of MacKay's army were killed or taken, and the general himself escaped with difficulty to Stirling at the head of a few horse.

Yet, with the death of Dundee, a victory which might otherwise have been followed by the most important results, proved unavailing, and General Cannon, who succeeded to the command of the victorious army, was unable to turn his advantage to account. MacKay easily succeeded in checking all his efforts to pursue the prosperous career of his predecessor, and very soon all serious opposition to the government had disappeared in Scotland.

In order to ensure peace and submission on the part of the Highland chieftains, from whom William had most to dread, peremptory orders were issued requiring them formally to submit to the government, and take the oaths of allegiance to the sovereigns before the first day of January, 1692, on pain of fire and sword.

In consequence of the severity of the season, MacDonald of Glencoe was unable to give in his submission before the appointed day, though he duly complied with the requirements of the government a few days later, at Inverary, and was suffered to return home in the belief that he had nothing to fear, as his delay was so plainly accidental. MacDonald, however, had enemies who were only too glad of an opportunity, on any pretence, of wreaking vengeance for old scores on his clan. Accordingly, on the 13th February, Campbell of Glenlyon, who had entered the glen in the guise of a friend, with a band of followers, and was hospitably received by the chief and his people, suddenly, and without the slightest note of warning, fell on the unarmed inhabitants during the night, and inhumanly massacred them.

Many persons, male and female, attempted their escape. Flying from their burning huts, and from their murderous *visitors*, the half-naked fugitives committed themselves to

a winter morning of darkness, snow, and storm, amidst a wilderness the most savage in the West Highlands, having a bloody death behind them, and before them tempest, famine, and desolation. Bewildered in the snow-wreaths, several sunk to rise no more. But the severities of the storm were tender mercies compared to the cruelty of their persecutors. The great fall of snow, which proved fatal to several of the fugitives, was the means of saving the remnant that escaped. Major Duncanson, an officer of the king, agreeably to the plan expressed in his orders to Glenlyon, had not failed to put himself in motion, with four hundred men, on the evening preceding the slaughter;



GLENCOE.

and had he reached the eastern passes out of Glencoe by four in the morning, as he calculated, he must have intercepted and destroyed all those who took that only way of escape from Glenlyon and his followers. But as this reinforcement arrived so late as eleven in the forenoon, they found no MacDonald alive in Glencoe, save an old man of eighty, whom they slew; and after burning such houses as were yet unconsumed, they collected the property of the tribe, consisting of twelve hundred head of

cattle and horses, besides goats and sheep, and drove them off to the garrison of Fort William.

Thus ended this horrible deed of massacre. The number of persons murdered was thirty-eight; those who escaped might amount to a hundred and fifty males, who, with the women and children of the tribe, had to fly more than twelve miles through rocks and wildernesses, ere they could reach any place of safety or shelter.

This terrible butchery excited the disgust and indignation of all Europe; and the Jacobites were not slow to manifest the feeling of dislike to the government of King William, which was the natural result of such barbarity. Yet three years had passed ere public opinion could form on an inquiry into the circumstances of this foul massacre, and when at length a royal commission was appointed to investigate the matter, the necessity for screening the king's share of culpability, prevented any really satisfactory steps being taken to affix the guilt on the proper parties. William is believed by some to have signed the warrant for the inhuman deed in ignorance of its true purport; and his treatment of the Earl of Stair, who was made the chief scapegoat in the matter, tended to confirm this impression. But in such a case, ignorance is a poor excuse; and the king bitterly felt that it was so.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

DARIEN EXPEDITION—ITS END.—1690—1701.

THE spirit of commercial enterprise, which has since honourably distinguished Scotchmen at home and abroad, was already beginning to stir up the speculative instincts of the nation; and it only required a leader of sufficient boldness and tact to inaugurate an era of trade and commerce, which would eclipse, in the intensity of its devotion to the new pursuits, all previous manifestations of national determination and purpose. An adventurer, the name of Paterson stirred the nation to its core

visions of unlimited wealth and boundless commerce. All classes were dazzled by the project of what is termed the "Darien Scheme;" and the rush to participate in its advantages was something indescribable. Almost every one who had, or could command, any sum of ready money embarked it in the company; many subscribed their all; maidens threw in their portions, and widows whatever sums they could raise upon their dower, to be repaid an hundredfold by the golden shower which was to descend upon the subscribers. Some sold estates to vest the money in the company's funds, and so eager was the spirit of speculation, that, when eight hundred thousand pounds formed the whole circulating capital of Scotland, half of that sum was vested in the Darien stock.

But it was not the Scots alone whose hopes were excited by the rich prospects held out to them. An offer being made by the managers of the company to share the expected advantages of the scheme with English and foreign merchants, it was so eagerly grasped at that three hundred thousand pounds of stock was subscribed for in London within nine days after opening the books. The merchants of Hamburgh and of Holland subscribed two hundred thousand pounds.

Such was the hopeful state of the new company's affairs, when the English jealousy of trade interfered to crush an adventure which seemed so promising. The idea which then and long afterwards prevailed in England was, that all profit was lost to the British empire which did not arise out of commerce exclusively English. The increase of trade in Scotland or Ireland they considered not as an addition to the general prosperity of the united nations, but as a positive loss to England. The commerce of Ireland they had long laid under severe shackles, to secure their own predominance; but it was not so easy to deal with Scotland, which, totally unlike Ireland, was governed by its own independent legislature, and acknowledged no subordination or fealty to England, being in all respects a separate and independent country, though governed by the same king.

This new species of rivalry on the part of an old

enemy was both irritating and alarming. The English had hitherto thought of the Scots as a poor and fierce nation, who, in spite of fewer numbers and far inferior resources, was always ready to engage in war with her powerful neighbour; and now that these wars were over, it was embarrassing and provoking to find the same nation display, in spite of its proverbial caution, a bold and ambitious spirit of emulating them in the paths of commerce.

So strong did the spirit of jealousy become, that both king and Parliament were induced to exert themselves in various ways against the Scottish project; and various influential men were threatened with deprivation of official honours and emoluments, if they did not withdraw their countenance from the scheme. Yet, so determined were the Scotch on carrying out their project, that opposition served merely to confirm their resolutions.

Twelve hundred men, three hundred of whom were youths of the best Scottish families, embarked on board of five frigates, purchased at Hamburgh for the service of the expedition; for the king refused the company even the trifling accommodation of a ship of war, which lay idle at Burntisland. They sailed from Leith Roads (26th July, 1698), reached their destination in safety, and disembarked at a place called Acta, where, by cutting through a peninsula, they obtained a safe and insulated situation for a town, called New Edinburgh, and a fort named Saint Andrew. With the same fond remembrance of their native land, the colony itself was called Caledonia. They were favourably received by the native princes, from whom they purchased the land they required. The harbour, which was excellent, was proclaimed a free port; and in the outset the happiest results were expected from the settlement.

But English malice had not yet expended its force, as the brave colonists were destined bitterly to feel. Their arrival took place in winter, when the air was cool and temperate; but with the summer returned the heat, and with the heat came the diseases of a tropical climate. *Those who had reported so favourably of the climate of*

Darien had probably been persons who had only visited the coast during the healthy season, or mariners, who, being chiefly on ship-board, find many situations healthy which prove pestilential to Europeans residing on shore. The health of the settlers, accustomed to a cold and mountainous country, gave way fast under the constant exhalations of the sultry climate, and even a more pressing danger than disease itself arose from the scarcity of food. The provisions which the colonists had brought from Scotland were expended, and the country afforded them only such supplies as could be procured by the precarious success of fishing and the chase.

This must have been foreseen; but it was never doubted that ample supplies would be procured from the English provinces in North America, which afforded great superabundance of provisions, and from the West India colonies, which always possessed superfluities. It was here that the enmity of the king and the English nation met the unfortunate settlers most unexpectedly and most severely. In North America, and in the West India islands, the most savage pirates and buccanneers had been permitted to refit their squadrons and supply themselves with every means of keeping the sea. But no such relief was extended to the Scottish colonists at Darien.

The governors of Jamaica, Barbadoes, and New York, published proclamations, setting forth that it had been signified to them by the English Secretary of State, that his majesty was unacquainted with the purpose and design of the Scottish settlers at Darien, and that the governors of the colonies had been commanded not to afford them any assistance; therefore they strictly charged the colonists over whom they presided to hold no correspondence with the Scots, and to give them no assistance of arms, ammunition, provisions, or any other necessary whatsoever.

These proclamations were strictly obeyed, and every species of relief was denied to the colonists of Darien. The consequence was that famine aided the diseases which swept them off in large numbers; and undoubtedly they, who thus perished for want of the provisions for

which they were willing to pay, were as much murdered by King William's government as if they had been shot in the snows of Glencoe. The various miseries of the colony became altogether intolerable, and, after waiting for assistance eight months, by far the greater part of the adventurers having died, the miserable remainder abandoned the settlement.

Shortly after the departure of the first colony, another body of thirteen hundred men, who had been sent out from Scotland, arrived at Darien, under the hope of finding their friends in health, and the settlement prosperous. They took possession of the deserted settlement with sad anticipations, and were not long in experiencing the same miseries which had destroyed and dispersed their predecessors. Two months after they were joined by Campbell of Finab, with a third body of three hundred men, chiefly from his own Highland estate, many of whom had served under him in Flanders, where he had acquired an honourable military reputation. It was time the colony should receive such military support, for, in addition to their other difficulties, they were now threatened by the Spaniards.

Two years had elapsed since the colonization of Darien had become matter of public discussion, and notwithstanding their feverish jealousy of their South American settlements, the Spaniards had not made any remonstrance against it. Nay, so close and intimate was the King of Spain's friendship with King William, that it seems possible he might never have done so, unless the colonists had been disowned by their sovereign, as if they had been vagabonds and outlaws. But finding the Scottish colony so treated by their prince, the Spaniards felt themselves invited in a manner to attack it, and not only lodged a remonstrance against the settlement with the English cabinet, but seized one of the vessels wrecked on the coast, confiscated the ship, and made the crew prisoners. The Darien Company sent an address to the king, remonstrating against this injury; but William, who studied every means to discountenance the unfortunate scheme, refused, under the most frivolous pretexts, to receive the *petition*.

The fate of the colony now came to a crisis. The Spaniards had brought from the Pacific a force of sixteen hundred men, who were stationed at a place called Tubucantee, waiting the arrival of an armament of eleven ships, with troops on board, destined to attack fort St. Andrew. Captain Campbell, who, by the unanimous consent of the settlers, was chosen to the supreme military command, marched against them with two hundred men, surprised and stormed their camp, and dispersed their army with considerable slaughter. But in returning from his successful expedition, he had the mortification to learn that the Spanish ships had arrived before the harbour, disembarked their troops, and invested the place. A desperate defence was maintained for six weeks, until loss of men, want of ammunition, and the approach of famine, compelled the colonists to an honourable surrender. The survivors of this unhappy settlement were so few, and so much exhausted, that they were unable to weigh the anchor of the vessel, called the "Rising Sun," in which they were to leave the fatal shore, without assistance from the conquering Spaniards.

The failure of this favourite project, deep sorrow for the numbers who had fallen, many of whom were men of birth and blood, the regret for pecuniary losses, which threatened national bankruptcy, and indignation at the manner in which their character had been disregarded, all at once agitated, from one end to the other, a kingdom which is to a proverb proud, poor, and warm in their domestic attachments. Nothing could be heard throughout Scotland but the language of grief and of resentment. Indemnification, redress, revenge, were demanded by every mouth, and each hand seemed ready to vouch for the justice of the claim. For many years no such universal feeling had occupied the Scottish nation.

In this humour Scotland became a useless possession to the king. William could not wring from that kingdom one penny for the public service, or, what he would have valued more, one recruit to carry on his continental campaigns. These hostile feelings subsisted to a late period.

William died in 1701, four months after his father-in-

law, James II. The King of France proclaimed James's son, that unfortunate Prince of Wales, born in the very storm of the Revolution, as William's successor in the kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; a step which greatly irritated the three nations, to whom Louis seemed by this act disposed to nominate a sovereign. Anne, the sister of the late Queen Mary, ascended the throne of these kingdoms, according to the provisions made at the Revolution by the legislature of both nations.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ACCESSION OF QUEEN ANNE—HOUSE OF HANOVER— ACT OF SECURITY.—1702-1704.

WHEN Queen Anne was named to succeed to the English throne, on the death of her sister Mary, and brother-in-law William III., she had a family. But the young Duke of Gloucester, the last of her children, had died before her accession to the crown, and there were no hopes of her having more; it became, therefore, necessary to make provision for the succession to the crown when the new queen should die. The titular Prince of Wales, son of the abdicated James, was undoubtedly the next heir; but he was a Catholic, bred up in the court of France, inheriting all the extravagant claims, and probably the arbitrary sentiments, of his father; and to call him to the throne would be in all likelihood to undo the settlement between king and people which had taken place at the revolution. The English legislature, therefore, turned their eyes to another descendant of King James VI., namely, Sophia, the Electress Dowager of Hanover, granddaughter of James the First of England and Sixth of Scotland, by the marriage of his daughter, Elizabeth, with the Prince Palatine. This princess was the nearest Protestant heir in blood to Queen Anne, supposing the claims of the son of James II. were to be passed over. She was a Protestant, and would necessarily, by accepting the

crown, become bound to maintain the civil and religious rights of the nation, as settled at the Revolution, upon which her own right would be dependent. For these weighty reasons the English Parliament passed an Act of Succession, settling the crown, on the failure of Queen Anne and her issue, upon the Princess Sophia, Electress Dowager of Hanover, and her descendants. This act, most important in its purport and consequences, was passed in June, 1700.

It became of the very last importance to Queen Anne's administration to induce, if possible, the legislation of Scotland to settle the crown of that kingdom on the same series of heirs to which that of England was destined. If, after the death of Queen Anne, the Scottish nation, instead of uniting in choosing the Electress Sophia, should call to the crown the titular Prince of Wales, the two kingdoms would again be separated, after having been under the same sway for a century, and all the evils of mutual hostilities betwixt the two extremities of the island, encouraged by the alliance and assistance of France, must again distract Great Britain. It became necessary, therefore, to try every species of persuasion to prevent a consequence fraught with so much mischief.

But Scotland was not in a humour to be either threatened or soothed into the views of England on this important occasion. The whole party of the Jacobites, although they thought it prudent for the present to submit to Queen Anne, entertained strong hopes that she herself was favourable to the succession of her brother after her own death; while their principles dictated to them that the wrong, as they termed it, done to James II., ought as speedily as possible to be atoned for by the restoration of his son. They were, of course, directly and violently hostile to the proposed Act of Settlement in favour of the Electress Sophia.

There was another party who were disposed to follow a middle course, and, instead of adopting, as the English ministers eagerly desired, the Protestant Act of Succession, proposed a measure called the Act of Security. By this it was provided, that in case of Queen Anne's death

without children, the whole power of the crown should, for the time, be lodged in the Scottish Parliament, who were directed to choose a successor of the royal line and Protestant religion. But the choice was to be made with this special reservation, that the person so chosen should take the throne only under such conditions of government as should secure from English or foreign influence the honour and independence of the Scottish crown and nation. It was further stipulated that the same person should be incapable of holding the crowns of both kingdoms, unless the Scottish people were admitted to share with the English the full benefits of trade and navigation. That the nation might assume an appearance of strength necessary to support such lofty pretensions, it was provided by the same statute that all the men in Scotland capable of bearing arms should be trained to the use of them by monthly drills; and, that the influence of England might expire at the same time with the life of the queen, it was provided that all commissions of the officers of State, as well as those of the military employed by them, should cease and lose effect so soon as Anne's death took place.

This formidable act, which, in fact, hurled the gauntlet of defiance at the far stronger kingdom of England, was debated in the Scottish Parliament, clause by clause and article by article, with the utmost fierceness and tumult.

The Act of Security was carried in Parliament by a decided majority, but the queen's commissioner refused the royal assent to so violent a statute. The Parliament, on their part, would grant no supplies, and when such were requested by the members of administration, the hall rung with the shouts of "Liberty before subsidy!" The Parliament was adjourned amidst the mutual discontent of both ministers and opposition.

In the very difficult and critical conduct which the queen had to observe betwixt two high-spirited nations, whose true interest it was to enter into the strictest friendship and alliance, but whose irritated passions for the present breathed nothing but animosity, Anne had *the good fortune* to be assisted by the wise counsels of

Godolphin, one of the most sagacious and profound ministers who ever advised a crowned head. Godolphin's first advice to the queen was, to suffer the Scottish Act of Security to pass. The English, in their superior wealth and importance, had for many years looked with great contempt on the Scottish nation, as compared with themselves, and were prejudiced against the Union, as a man of wealth and importance might be against a match with a female in an inferior rank of society. It was necessary to change this feeling, and to show plainly to the English people that if the Scots were not allied with them in intimate friendship they might prove dangerous enemies.

The Act of Security finally passed in 1704, having, according to Godolphin's advice, received the queen's assent; and the Scottish Parliament, as the provisions of the statute bore, immediately began to train their countrymen, who have always been attached to the use of arms, and easily submit to military discipline.

The effect of these formidable preparations was to arouse the English from their indifference to Scottish affairs. Scotland might be poor, but her numerous levies, under sanction of the Act of Security, were not the less formidable. A sudden inroad on Newcastle, as in the great Civil War, would distress London, by interrupting the coal trade; and, whatever might be the event, the prospect of a civil war, as it might be termed, after so long a tract of peace, was doubtful and dangerous.

English statesmen were therefore desirous of a union. But they stipulated that it should be of the most intimate kind; such as should free England from the great inconvenience arising from the Scottish nation possessing a separate legislature and constitution of her own: and in order to blend her interests indelibly with those of England, they demanded that the supreme power of the state should be reposed in a Parliament of the united countries, to which Scotland might send a certain proportion of members, but which should meet in the English capital, and be, of course, more immediately under the influence of English counsels and interests.

The Scottish nation, on the other hand, which had, of

late, become very sensible of the benefits of foreign trade, were extremely desirous of a federative union, which should admit them to the commercial advantages which they coveted. But, while they grasped at a share in the English trade, they desired that Scotland should retain her rights as a separate kingdom, making, as heretofore, her own laws, and adopting her own public measures, uncontrolled by the domination of England. Here, therefore, occurred a preliminary point of dispute, which was necessarily to be settled previous to the farther progress of the treaty.

In order to adjust the character of the proposed Union-treaty in this and other particulars, commissioners for both kingdoms were appointed to make a preliminary inquiry, and report upon the articles which ought to be adopted as the foundation of the measure, and which report was afterwards to be subjected to the legislatures of both kingdoms.

CHAPTER XXXV.

PROPOSALS FOR UNION—JACOBITE OPPOSITION—GENERAL SCOTCH DISCONTENT.—1704-1706.

THE Scottish commissioners, after a vain struggle, were compelled to submit to an incorporating Union, as that which alone would ensure the purposes of combining England and Scotland into one single nation, to be governed in its political measures by the same Parliament. It was agreed, that in contributing to the support of the general expenses of the kingdom, Scotland should pay a certain proportion of taxes, which were adjusted by calculation. But in consideration that the Scots, whose revenue, though small, was unencumbered, must thereafter become liable for a share of the debt which England had incurred since the Revolution, a large sum of ready money was to be advanced to Scotland as an equivalent *for that burden*; which sum, however, was to be repaid

to England gradually from the Scottish revenue. So far all went on pretty well between the two sets of commissioners. The English statesmen also consented, with no great scruple, that Scotland should retain her own national Presbyterian Church, her own system of civil and municipal laws, which is in many important respects totally different from that of England, and her own courts for the administration of justice. The only addition to her judicial establishment was the erection of the Court of Exchequer in Scotland, to decide in fiscal matters, and which follows the English forms.

But the treaty was nearly broken off when the English announced that, in the Parliament of the United Kingdoms, Scotland should only enjoy a representation equal to one thirteenth of the whole number. The proposal was received by the Scottish commissioners with a burst of surprise and indignation. With more prudence, perhaps, than spirit, the majority of the Scottish commissioners, nevertheless, chose to yield the point rather than run the risk of frustrating the Union entirely.

The Scottish Peerage were to preserve all the other privileges of their rank; but their right of sitting in Parliament, and acting as hereditary legislators, was to be greatly limited. Only sixteen of their number were to enjoy seats in the British House of Lords, who were to be chosen by election from the whole body. Such peers as were amongst the number of commissioners were induced to consent to this degradation of their order, by the assurance that they themselves should be created British peers, so as to give them personally, by charter, the right which the sixteen could only acquire by election.

When the articles, agreed upon by the commissioners as the basis of a union, were made public in Scotland, it became plain that few suffrages would be obtained in favour of the measure, save by menaces or bribery, unless perhaps from a very few, who, casting their eyes far beyond the present time, considered the uniting of the island of Britain as an object which could not be purchased too dearly.

There was indeed no party or body of men in Scotland,

who saw their hopes or wishes realised in the plan adopted by the commissioners. The Jacobites saw in the proposed Union an effectual bar to the restoration of the Stuart family. If the treaty was adopted, the two kingdoms must necessarily be governed by the English act, settling the succession of the crown on the Electress of Hanover. They were, therefore, resolved to oppose the union to the utmost. The Episcopal clergy could hardly be said to have had a separate interest from the Jacobites, and, like them, dreaded the change of succession which must take place at the death of Queen Anne. The Highland chiefs also, the most zealous and formidable portion of the Jacobite interest, anticipated in the Union a decay of their own patriarchal power. They remembered the times of Cromwell, who bridled the Highlands by garrisons filled with soldiers, and foresaw that when Scotland came to be only a part of the British nation, a large standing army, at the constant command of Government, must gradually suppress the warlike independence of the clans.

The Presbyterians of the Church of Scotland, both clergy and laity, were violently opposed to the Union, from the natural apprehension that so intimate an incorporation of two nations was likely to end in a uniformity of worship, and that the hierarchy of England would, in that case, be extended to the weaker and poorer country of Scotland, to the destruction of the present establishment. This fear seemed the better founded, as the bishops, or lords spiritual of the English House of Lords, formed a considerable portion of what was proposed to be the legislature of both kingdoms; so that Scotland, in the event of the Union taking place, must, to a certain extent, fall under the dominion of prelates.

The nobility and barons of the kingdom were alarmed lest they should be deprived, after the example of England, of those territorial jurisdictions and privileges which preserved their feudal influence; while, at the same time, the transference of the seat of government to London, must necessarily be accompanied with the abolition of *many posts* and places of honour and profit connected

with the administration of Scotland as a separate kingdom, and which were naturally bestowed on her nobility and gentry. The government, therefore, must have so much less to give away, the men of influence so much less to receive; and those who might have expected to hold situations of power and authority in their own country while independent, were likely to lose by the Union both power and patronage.

The persons who were interested in commerce complained that Scotland was only tantalised by a treaty, which held out to the kingdom the prospect of a free trade, when, at the same time, it subjected them to all the English burdens and duties, raising the expenses of commerce to a height which Scotland afforded no capital to defray; so that the apprehension became general, that the Scottish merchants would lose the separate trade which they now possessed, without obtaining any beneficial share in that of England.

Again, the whole body of Scottish trades-people, artizans, and the like, particularly those of the metropolis, foresaw that, in consequence of the Union, a large proportion of the nobility and gentry would be withdrawn from their native country, some to attend their duties in the British Parliament, others from the various motives of ambition, pleasure, or vanity, which induce persons of comparative wealth to frequent courts, and reside in capitals. The consequences to be apprehended were, that the Scottish metropolis would be deserted by all that were wealthy and noble, and deprived at once of the consideration and advantages of a capital; and that the country must suffer in proportion, by the large proprietors ceasing to reside on their estates, and going to spend their rents in England.

The feelings of national pride were inflamed by those of national prejudice and resentment. The Scottish people complained that they were not only required to surrender their public rights, but to yield them up to the very nation who had been most malevolent to them in all respects; who had been their constant enemies during a thousand years of almost continual war, and

who, even since they were united under the same crown, had shown, in the massacre of Glencoe, and the disasters of Darien, at what a slight price they held the lives and rights of their northern neighbours. The hostile measures adopted by the English Parliament, their declarations against the Scottish trade, their preparations for war on the Border, were all circumstances which envenomed the animosity of the people of Scotland, while the general training which had taken place under the Act of Security, made them confident in their own military strength, and disposed to stand their ground at all hazards. Moved by anxiety, doubt, and apprehension, an unprecedented confluence of people, of every rank, sex, and age, thronged to Edinburgh from all corners of Scotland, to attend the meeting of the Union Parliament, which met 3d October, 1706.

The Parliament was divided, generally speaking, into two parties. The first was composed of the courtiers or followers of government, determined at all hazards to carry through the Union on the terms proposed by the commissioners. The party opposing the Union consisted of those who were attached to the Jacobite interest, joined with the country party, who resisted the treaty, not on the grounds of the succession to the crown, but as destructive of the national independence of the kingdom. They were headed by the Duke of Hamilton.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

PARTIES IN SCOTLAND—THREATENED REBELLION—CIRCUMSTANCES CONNECTED WITH THE COMPLETION OF THE UNION.—1706-1707.

THE unpopularity of the proposed measure, throughout Scotland, was soon made evident by the temper of the people of Edinburgh. The citizens of the better class exclaimed against the favourers of the Union, for their *willingness* to surrender the sovereignty of Scotland to

her ancient rival, whilst the populace cried out that the Scottish crown, sceptre, and sword, were about to be transferred to England, as they had been in the time of the usurper, Edward Longshanks.

On the 23d October the popular fury was at its height. The people crowded together in the High Street and Parliament Square, and greeted their representatives as friends or enemies to their country, according as they opposed or favoured the Union. The commissioner was bitterly reviled and hooted at, while, in the evening, several hundred persons escorted the Duke of Hamilton to his lodgings, encouraging him by loud huzzas to stand by the cause of national independence. The rabble next assailed the house of the Lord Provost, destroyed the windows, and broke open the doors, and threatened him with instant death as a favourer of the obnoxious treaty.

The temper of the kingdom of Scotland at large was equally unfavourable to the treaty of Union with that of the capital. Addresses against the measure were poured into the house of Parliament from the several shires, counties, burghs, towns, and parishes. Men, otherwise the most opposed to each other, agreed in expressing their detestation of the treaty, and imploring the estates of Parliament to support and preserve entire the sovereignty and independence of the crown and kingdom, with the rights and privileges of Parliament, valiantly maintained through so many ages, so that the succeeding generations might receive them unimpaired, in which good cause the petitioners offered to concur with life and fortune.

Amongst the many addresses presented against the Union, there was one from the Commission of the General Assembly, which was supposed to speak the sentiments of the clergymen of the Church of Scotland, who saw great danger to the Presbyterian church from the measure under deliberation. But much of the heat of the clergy's opposition was taken off by the Parliament passing an act for the security of the Church of Scotland, as by law established at the Revolution, and making this declaration an integral part of the treaty of Union. This cautionary

measure seems to have been deemed sufficient; and although some Presbyteries sent addresses against the Union, and many ministers continued to preach violently on the subject, yet the great body of the clergy ceased to vex themselves and others with the alarming tendency of the measure, so far as religion and church discipline were concerned.

The Cameronians, however, remained unsatisfied, and not having forgotten the weight which their arms had produced at the time of the Revolution, they conceived that a similar crisis of public affairs had again arrived, and required their active interference. Being actually embodied and possessed of arms, they wanted nothing save hardy and daring leaders to have engaged them in actual hostilities. They were indeed so earnest in opposing the Union, that several hundreds of them appeared in formal array, marched into Dumfries, and, drawing up in military order around the cross of the town, solemnly burnt the articles of Union, and published a testimony, declaring that the commissioners who adjusted them must have been either silly, ignorant, or treacherous, if not all three, and protesting, that if an attempt should be made to impose the treaty on the nation by force, the subscribers were determined that they and their companions would not become tributaries and bond slaves to their neighbours, without acquitting themselves as became men and Christians. After publishing this threatening manifesto the assembly dispersed.

The populace of Glasgow, assembled in a state of uproar, attacked and dispersed the guards, plundered the houses of the citizens, and seized what arms they could find. No person of any consequence appeared at the head of these rioters; and after having put themselves under the command of a mechanic named Finlay, who had formerly been a sergeant, they sent small parties to the neighbouring towns to invite them to follow their example. In this they were unsuccessful. In short, the Glasgow riot died away, and the insurgents prevented bloodshed by dispersing quietly.

To prevent the repetition of such dangerous examples

as the rendezvous at Hamilton and the tumults at Glasgow, the Parliament came to the resolution of suspending that clause of the Act of Security which appointed general military musters throughout Scotland; and enacted instead, that in consideration of the tumults which had taken place, all assembling in arms, without the queen's special order, should be punished as an act of high treason. This being made public by proclamation, put a stop to future attempts at rising.

Almost the only remarkable change in the articles of the Union, besides that relating to church government, was made to quiet the minds of the common people, disturbed, as I have already mentioned, by rumours that the Scottish regalia were to be sent into England. A special article was inserted into the treaty, declaring that they should on no occasion be removed from Scotland. At the same time, lest the sight of these symbols of national sovereignty should irritate the jealous feelings of the Scottish people, they were removed from the public view, and secured in a strong chamber, called the Crown-room, in the castle of Edinburgh, where they remained so long in obscurity, that their very existence was generally doubted. But His Majesty, George IV., having directed that a commission should be issued to search after these venerable relics, they were found in safety in the place where they had been deposited, and are now made visible to the public under proper precautions.



THE SCOTTISH REGALIA.

It had been expected that the treaty of Union would have met with delays or alterations in the English Par-

liament. But it was approved of there, after very long debate, by a large majority; and the exemplification copy was sent down to be registered by the Scottish Parliament. This was done on the 25th March; and, on 22nd April, the Parliament of Scotland adjourned ever. Seafield, the chancellor, wound up the proceedings by saying, to the intense disgust of those who heard him, "There is an end of an auld sang."

On the 1st of May, 1707, the Union took place, and the dejection and despair which attend on the downfall of an ancient state, and under a sullen expression of discontent, that was far from promising the course of prosperity which the treaty finally produced.

SUMMARY.

BRUCE slays the Red Comyn; he is crowned at Scone; overthrown at Methven by the Earl of Pembroke; 1306. his party hide for a while in the wilds of Athol; they pass over to the Island of Rachrin. The Queen and other ladies taken prisoners by the English.

The party in Rachrin cross over to Arran, and thence to Turnberry; they retire for safety to the Uplands of Ayrshire, where they carry on, for a time, a skirmishing warfare with the English. The "Douglas Larder." 1307. King Edward I. of England dies at Burgh-on-Sands. His son, Edward II. marches into Scotland, but retires without striking a blow. The whole of Scotland is gradually brought under the sway of Bruce. Stirling Castle is the last stronghold in the hands of the English. The "Wager of Battle."

The Battle of Bannockburn, in which the English 1314. are completely overthrown. Raids into England 1326. under Randolph, nephew of Bruce, and Lord James 1328. Douglas. The sister of the King of England married to David, son of Robert Bruce.

Bruce dies at Cardross; gives instructions, before his death, to remove the heart from his body, and 1329. bury it in the Holy Sepulchre, at Jerusalem; he is buried in the Abbey of Dunfermline; the heart never reaches its destination, in consequence of the death of Douglas.

Edward Baliol invades Scotland; he defeats the Scots on Duplin Moor, but is soon obliged to leave Scotland. 1332. The Scots are defeated at Halidon Hill; and the King of England invades Scotland, but is after a time obliged to retire.

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King David, of Scotland, is taken prisoner by the
 1346. English at Neville's Cross, and carried a captive to London.

1357. He is released on a large ransom being paid.

1371. David dies; in his reign Scotland is ravaged by the pestilence known as the "Black Death."

Robert Stuart succeeds David II.; various inroads into England during the early part of his reign.

The battle of "Chevy Chase" results from one of
 1388. these inroads. In this battle Percy is taken prisoner, and the English completely routed.

Robert III. succeeds his father. Mutual hostility of the Dukes of Rothesay and Albany; Rothesay is
 1390. supposed to have been starved to death in Falkland Palace, by order of Albany. Prince James is taken prisoner, on his way to France, by the English, and kept a prisoner for eighteen years.

The king dies of a broken heart. The Duke of Albany
 1406. becomes regent.

1411. The battle of Harlaw is fought.

1412. The University of St. Andrews is founded by Bishop Wardlaw.

Prince James is set at liberty by the English, and having married an English wife, becomes
 1424. King of Scotland, under the title of James I.; he ascends the throne, determined to put down the lawless habits of his subjects; succeeds to a great extent, but incurs the deadly hatred of many of his most powerful nobles.

The king is assassinated at Perth by a band of ruffians,
 1437. after a most prosperous reign; his poetical works rank high. He is succeeded by his son, James II.

1440. The Chancellor and the Governor of Stirling invite the Earl of Douglas to Edinburgh, and, after a show of great hospitality, behead him, in order to overawe the Douglasses.

A succeeding Douglas is invited to Stirling Castle to enjoy the hospitality of the king; but in the heat

an after-supper dispute, James stabs him with his dagger, and Sir Patrick Gray completes the murder. 1456. The Douglasses make great efforts to avenge the death of their kinsman, but fail, and are compelled to go into exile.

1460. The king is killed by the bursting of a cannon, at the siege of Roxburgh Castle.

James III. succeeds James II.; as he grows up to manhood, he shows a great partiality for mean favourites.

1482. These favourites are hung over Lauder Bridge, by the nobles.

The disaffected nobles raise the standard of rebellion, near the famous field of Bannockburn, and having 1488. got possession of the king's son, proclaim him king. James, flying from the field of battle, is thrown from his horse, and afterwards assassinated by a pretended confessor.

James IV. succeeds, and as a penance for having, however innocently, appeared in arms against his father, ever after wears an iron belt; he is a great favourite with all classes of his subjects, and does much for the advancement of his country in all the arts of civilization.

The king marries Margaret Tudor, daughter of 1502. James VII. of England. This marriage led to the union of England and Scotland, under James VI.

1513. The battle of Flodden is fought, in which the king and the flower of his nobility are slain, and the Scottish army completely overthrown by the English.

James V. succeeds; he falls into the hands of the Douglasses, and only escapes from Falkland by a stratagem. During this time, Henry VIII. of England, uncle of the king, is, for his own ends, doing what he can to uproot Catholic ascendancy in England, and endeavours to draw his nephew into the same measures. It is agreed that the two kings meet at York, to discuss the

1541. position of affairs; but James failing to put in an appearance, Henry returns to London in wrath, and prepares to invade Scotland.

The Scottish army, at Solway Moss, refusing to fight under the general appointed by the king, are suddenly pounced upon by the English, and scattered in all directions. The news of this disaster so affected James that he took to his bed, and never rose again.

Mary Queen of Scots succeeds her father James V. Henry of England, with the view of uniting both kingdoms, proposes to marry her to his son Edward. The Scotch decline the arrangement, and Henry attempts to enforce his views by arms. Meantime, Mary is sent to France for her education, and there marries the Dauphin of France, Francis II. Left a widow at the age of nineteen, she returns to Scotland, where her mother, Mary of Guise, had acted for a time as regent. She marries Lord Darnley. David Rizzio obtains great influence over her; he is assassinated, almost in her presence, by the jealous nobles, headed by Darnley.

Mary's growing aversion to her husband is becoming daily more manifest; he is seized with small-pox in Glasgow; she visits him, and they are apparently again reconciled; he is brought to Edinburgh, and lodged in the suburbs, where his residence is blown up with gunpowder, and himself killed. Mary is suspected of being in the plot. At all events she screens Bothwell, one of the undoubted plotters, and very soon afterwards marries him. A rupture with her subjects ensues, and she is imprisoned in Lochleven Castle, where she is compelled to renounce all claim to the crown, in favour of her son, James VI.; she escapes from Lochleven Castle; she is defeated at the battle of Langside, and escapes to England, where, after an imprisonment of eighteen years, she is beheaded by order of Queen Elizabeth.

The Earl of Moray, Regent of Scotland, is shot while riding through the town of Linlithgow. The Earl of Morton, one of the succeeding regents, set the example of appropriating the church lands and

revenues, an example which was very extensively followed.

1578. James VI. assumes the regal functions.

1582. The "Raid of Ruthven."

1589. The king marries the Princess Anne of Denmark.

1603. James VI. of Scotland becomes King of England, under the title of James I. Having fairly established himself in his new kingdom, he attempts to put down Presbyterianism in Scotland.

1617. He visited Scotland, where his ostentatious preference for the Episcopalian forms of worship gave

1625. much displeasure. He died in the 59th year of his age, and was succeeded by his son, Charles I. Charles even more determined than his father to

1637. crush out Presbyterianism in Scotland; he attempts to force the use of the service-book on the Scots, and a riot ensues in Edinburgh, where Jenny Geddes flings her stool at the head of the officiating clergyman.

1638. The *Covenant* signed by the bulk of the Scotch as a pledge of resistance to the measures of Charles. General Assembly in Glasgow condemns the measures of the king.

1639. Charles proposes to enforce his ideas by arms. The Scotch prepare to resist, under General Leslie, and invade England, gaining the battle of *Newburn*.

Charles quarrels with his English Parliament. *Solemn League and Covenant* entered into between Scotland

1642. and the Parliament of England. The English civil war continues.

1644. The Marquis of Montrose takes up the cause of Charles in Scotland; gains a series of victories, but

1645. is finally defeated by General Leslie at Philiphaugh.

1646. The king surrenders himself to the Scottish army, by whom he is given up to the English.

1649. He is beheaded at Whitehall.

His son Charles II. is proclaimed king in Scotland, while in England Oliver Cromwell assumes the reigns of

government as Lord Protector. The English, unwilling to see the son of the beheaded monarch ruling in Scotland, send an army under Cromwell to drive him from the throne. The Scottish army completely defeated

1650. at Dunbar. Charles attempts to foil Cromwell by marching into England; is completely overcome at

1651. Worcester, and obliged to fly to the continent.

1660. On the death of Cromwell, Charles II. is restored to his throne; he shows great ingratitude to Scot-

1662. land; drives the Presbyterian ministers from their pulpits, and supplies their places by Episcopalians; hunts down, like wild beasts, those who attend the ministrations of the dispossessed clergymen. The people

1679. are made savage by persecution. Archbishop Sharpe, the chief fomentor of persecution, is slain on Magus Moor. The persecuted fight at Drumclog, and Bothwell Bridge; they are defeated at the latter place.

1685. On the death of Charles, his brother James succeeds; he endeavours to restore Catholicism. The nation

1688. resist, and William Prince of Orange comes over, and establishes himself as joint-sovereign with his wife Mary, daughter of King James.

1689. Viscount Dundee makes a strenuous effort to restore the fortunes of James in Scotland, and defeats the king's forces in the Pass of Killiecrankie. The death of Dundee renders his victory of no avail, and the cause of James is lost.

1690. William requires formal submission from the Highland chiefs. MacDonald of Glencoe fails to appear

1692. in time. His clan is ruthlessly murdered.

The Darien scheme is frustrated through the unfriendliness of the English. A bad feeling towards the king is fostered in the breasts of the Scotch. William is

1701. killed by a fall from his horse, and is succeeded by Queen Anne. Act of Security passed in Scotland.

1707. After much ill feeling, and some display of force, England and Scotland become one nation by the

Union.

QUESTIONS.

CHAPTER I.

1. Whom did Robert the Bruce slay in Dumfries?
2. Why did he do so?
3. What was the consequence?
4. What luck attended his early struggles to become king?
5. What incident induced him to continue the struggle when every chance of success appeared to be gone?
6. Describe the lighting of the beacon on Turnberry Head, and its results.

CHAPTER II.

1. How did the King of England receive the news of Bruce's proceedings?
2. What strange instructions did he give his son regarding his bones?
3. What do you know of the *Douglas Larder*?
4. How was Edinburgh Castle taken?
5. What led to the battle of Bannockburn?

CHAPTER III.

1. What preparations did the King of England make for the battle of Bannockburn?
2. What preparations did Robert Bruce make?
3. What was the date of Bannockburn?
4. In the use of what weapons did the English excel the Scotch?
5. How did Bruce on this occasion escape the usual effects of English superiority in this department?
6. What incident is said to have turned the tide of battle against the English?

CHAPTER IV.

1. Where did Bruce spend his latter days; and how?
2. What do you mean by a *raid* into England? Describe one.
3. Why were the Scotch called *rough-footed*?
4. When Bruce was dying, what favour did he request of the Lord James Douglas?
5. How did Douglas carry out the king's wishes?
6. What became of the heart?

CHAPTER V.

1. What is Parliament?
2. Who originally sat there?
3. How did the nobles and barons of those times usually behave themselves?
4. What two parts of the country were particularly conspicuous for lawlessness?
5. In what respect did Highlanders and Borderers differ?

CHAPTER VI.

1. Who was Edward Baliol?
2. What did he seek?
3. How did he succeed?
4. What became of him?
5. Who fought the battle of *Hallidon Hill*?
6. Who conquered?

CHAPTER VII.

1. How did the English attempt to reduce *Lochleven Castle*, and with what result?
2. What do you mean by *tournaments*?
3. What do you know of the battle of *Neville's Cross*?
4. Who was taken prisoner there?
5. What do you mean by the *burned Candlemas*?
6. How did King David obtain his liberty?

CHAPTER VIII.

1. Who was Robert Stuart?
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